Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-224
Wednesday
22 November 1989

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-224 *22 November 1989*

CONTENTS

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

'New Ideology' for CEMA Cooperation Urged *[PRAVDA 20 Nov]* 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

More on New Thinking, Military Policy Conference 3
Participants' Comments *[PRAVDA 15 Nov]* 3
Results Summarized *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Nov]* 3
Statement Issued at UN on International Security *[TASS]* 4
East Europe Changes, West's Attitude Viewed *[Moscow TV]* 5
Swedish Minister's Remarks on Baltics Welcomed *[IZVESTIYA 16 Nov]* 5
'Roundtable' Debates Resolution, Regional Conflicts
[Vedenyapin, Agayants, and Andrianov on Moscow Radio] 6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Bush Anticipates 'Historic' Malta Meeting *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Nov]* 12
Bush, Genscher Agree on East-West Relations *[TASS]* 12
Announced U.S. Defense Cuts Evaluated *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Nov]* 13
USSR-U.S. Commission Urges More Trade *[IZVESTIYA 20 Nov]* 13
Commentator Urges U.S. Lifting of Trade Curbs *[Kozyakov on Moscow International]* 14
USSR-Canada Joint Political Declaration *[PRAVDA 22 Nov]* 14
Reportage on Gorbachev-Mulroney Talks 17
Europe Discussed *[TASS]* 17
Ties, Reforms Discussed *[PRAVDA 22 Nov]* 17
Mulroney Addresses News Conference *[TASS]* 19
Gorbachev Comments on Talks *[Moscow TV]* 19
Gorbachev Calls Visit 'Landmark' *[TASS]* 20
Gorbachev Says Relations 'Good' *[Moscow International]* 20
Ryzhkov Attends Bolshoi Ballet With Mulroney *[TASS]* 20
Shevardnadze Meets With Canada's Clark 20
World Affairs Discussed *[TASS]* 20
Ties, Central America Discussed *[TASS]* 21
Correction to Cheney Budget Initiative 22

China

PRC's Heilongjiang Delegation Visits Khabarovsk *[Moscow International]* 22
Visit, Meetings in RSFSR Noted *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 Nov]* 22
RSFSR Culture Minister on PRC Visit *[Moscow International]* 23
RSFSR To Cooperate With PRC Provinces *[Moscow International]* 24
Moscow Conference Commemorates CPC Founder *[IZVESTIYA 17 Nov]* 24

Northeast Asia

Reportage on Yakovlev, Delegation Visit to Japan 24
PRAVDA on 15 Nov Activities *[16 Nov]* 24
Delegates' Meetings *[IZVESTIYA 16 Nov]* 25
Yakovlev Tour of Matsushita Complex *[Moscow TV]* 26
Yakovlev 18 Nov Speech *[IZVESTIYA 19 Nov]* 26
PRAVDA Assessment of Visit *[19 Nov]* 28
Japanese Spokesman on Visit *[TASS]* 28

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Shipping Snags Hamper Trade With SRV *[PRAVDA 13 Nov]* 28

Sub-Saharan Africa

Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Ethiopia 30
Meets With Mengistu *[TASS]* 30
Ends Visit, Flies to Djibouti *[TASS]* 31
Ethiopia's Peace Talks With EPLF, TPLF Viewed *[Mikhaylov on Moscow International]* 31
Peace Seen as 'Difficult Quest' *[IZVESTIYA 14 Nov]* 32
Talks With EPLF Viewed *[Moscow International]* 32
Somali Government Efforts To Liberalize Viewed *[Borisov on Moscow International]* 33
Leadership Bodies Greet Angolan Leader *[PRAVDA 11 Nov]* 33
Ghanaian Army Commander Arrives in Moscow *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Nov]* 34

East Europe

GDR's Modrow Interviewed on FRG, USSR Ties *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Nov]* 34
Modrow Profiled as 'Popular Political Figure' *[PRAVDA 20 Nov]* 35
Krenz Views SED Reform, Rules Out Reunification *[TASS]* 36
Krenz Discusses Democracy, Reform Process *[TRUD 21 Nov]* 36
Krenz, Modrow Meet With FRG Official *[IZVESTIYA 22 Nov]* 36
GDR's 'Democratic Bloc' Forms New Government *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 Nov]* 37
Developments in GDR, East Europe Assessed *[Grammatchikov on Moscow International]* 38
Reportage on Demonstrations, Unrest in CSSR 39
Prague Protesters' Demands Noted *[PRAVDA 22 Nov]* 39
'Vremya' Reports Demonstrations *[Moscow TV]* 40
Government Responses Noted *[TASS]* 40
Czech Government Holds Special Meeting *[TASS]* 41
'Stormy' 21 Nov Demonstration in Prague *[TASS]* 41
Jakes Meets Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Group *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Nov]* 41
Supreme Soviet Congratulates Bulgaria's Mladenov *[TASS]* 42
Shevardnadze Discusses Friendship With Mladenov
[Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT 20 Nov] 42
Demonstrations in 'Many Towns' in Bulgaria *[Moscow TV]* 42
Communism Not To Blame for Zhivkov Mistakes *[Samarin on Moscow International]* 42
Reportage on Romanian Communist Party Congress 43
Tasks Facing Congress Previewed *[PRAVDA 21 Nov]* 43
Congress Begins 20 Nov *[TASS]* 44
21 Nov Proceedings Reported *[TASS]* 44
Vorotnikov Received by Ceausescu *[TASS]* 44
Poland Regrets 'Provocative' Jubilee Speech *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 15 Nov]* 45
Dzerzhinskiy Monument in Warsaw Removed *[IZVESTIYA 18 Nov]* 45
Hungary's Puja Says MSZMP Still Viable *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 15 Nov]* 45
Paper Marks Albanian Capital's 1944 Liberation *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Nov]* 45

West Europe

Yazov Continues Official Visit to Austria 46
Meets Waldheim in Vienna *[TASS]* 46
Says Europe Borders To Stay Unchanged *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 22 Nov]* 46
Gorbachev Talks With French, FRG Officials *[PRAVDA 18 Nov]* 47
Rogachev, French Official View Asian Issues *[IZVESTIYA 15 Nov]* 48
PCF Delegation Visits CPSU 13-19 Nov *[TASS]* 48
Gorbachev Preface to Book's Italian Edition *[TASS]* 48
La Scala Opera Tour Recriminations Answered *[IZVESTIYA 12 Nov]* 48
Gorbachev Receives UK Envoy, Thatcher Letter *[TASS]* 50
PRAVDA Cites Thatcher Guildhall Speech *[15 Nov]* 50
Turkey's Ozal Thanks Gorbachev for Greetings *[PRAVDA 17 Nov]* 50

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama Delegation Signs Trade Pact With USSR *[Panama City Radio]* 50
FMLN Notes U.S. Military Role in El Salvador *[PRAVDA 19 Nov]* 51
Malmierca Notes Cuban, Albanian Views Similar *[PRAVDA 14 Nov]* 51
Ecuadoran Delegation Visits 30 Oct-11 Nov *[PRAVDA 12 Nov]* 51

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet Session

Further on 20 Nov Supreme Soviet Session 52
Advadze on Nature of Federal System *[Moscow TV]* 52
Fotov on Media 'Conflicts' *[Moscow TV]* 52
Gritsenko on State Affairs *[Moscow TV]* 53
Moscow TV Airs 21 Nov Supreme Soviet Proceedings 55
1600 GMT 55
1715 GMT 55
1811 GMT 55
1947 GMT 56
2100 GMT 57
Further on Supreme Soviet Proceedings 21 Nov 57
Congress, Regulations *[TASS]* 57
Culture Minister Nikolay Gubenko *[TASS]* 58
Primakov Address *[Moscow Radio]* 58
Parliament Procedure, Rights *[TASS]* 59
Primakov Chairs 22 Nov Supreme Soviet Session *[TASS]* 59
Supreme Soviet Extends Session 2 Days *[Moscow Radio]* 60
Supreme Soviet Statement on Nehru *[PRAVDA 15 Nov]* 60

Political & Social

Prokofyev Replaces Zaykov as Moscow Party Chief *[TASS]* 60
Prokofyev Profiled *[TASS]* 60
Addresses Moscow Party *[TASS]* 61
Further on New Party Chief *[TASS]* 61
News Conference on Ryzhkov Talks With Miners *[IZVESTIYA 22 Nov]* 63
Further on Vorkuta Mine Strike Situation 65
Described as 'Explosive' *[Moscow TV]* 65
Coal Shortfall Grows *[TASS]* 65
Activists on Pit Strike Ruling *[IZVESTIYA 22 Nov]* 66
Miners Strike for 'Striking's Sake' *[IZVESTIYA 23 Nov]* 67
Further on Kuzbass Mine Strike Situation 68
Workers Define Political Stand *[TASS]* 68
Working People's Union Discussed *[Moscow TV]* 68
Labor Collectives Forum Held *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 Nov]* 68
More on Conference *[TASS]* 70
Riga Mayor Criticizes Latvian Party *[TASS]* 70
Bresis on Latvian Economic Sovereignty *[SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 2 Nov]* 71
Latvia To Celebrate Republic Day, Christmas *[Moscow Radio]* 72
Lithuanian Party Meeting With Politburo Reported *[Vilnius Radio]* 73
Lithuanian Paper on Military Service Issue *[Vilnius International]* 73
Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Proceedings *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 4 Nov]* 73
Estonian Parliament Debate on Election Law Viewed
[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 19 Oct] 76
Estonian Communist Party Officials Interviewed *[Tallinn Radio]* 76
Estonia's Titma on Party Relinquishing Power *[Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 14 Nov]* 78
ESSR Official on New Currency Certificates *[Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 19 Oct]* 78
Estonian People's Front Election Platform *[MOLODEZH ESTONII 20 Oct]* 80
Estonian Green Party Profiled *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 25 Oct]* 90
Ukrainian KGB Official Interviewed *[Kiev Radio]* 92

Ukrainian First Secretary Meets With Media *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 7 Oct]* 92
Moldavian Supreme Soviet Opens Session *[TASS]* 95
New Moldavian Party Chief Interviewed *[IZVESTIYA 20 Nov]* 95
Kishinev 10 Nov Disturbances Detailed *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA 12 Nov]* 96
Kishinev Paper's Report of 10 Nov Events Rebutted *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Oct]* 97
Moldavian Informal Organizations Registered *[IZVESTIYA 6 Nov]* 98
Further Details of Georgian Sovereignty *[IZVESTIYA 21 Nov]* 99
Georgian Supreme Soviet Ends, Amendments Adopted *[Kiev Radio]* 100
New Georgian President's Background Viewed *[TASS]* 100
Yerevan Notes 'Grave Situation' of Railways *[Yerevan Radio]* 100
Yerevan Reports on Situation in NKAO *[Yerevan International]* 101
Decision on Azerbaijan Constitutional Changes *[Baku Radio]* 101
Baku—Lenkoran Gorkom First Secretary Replaced *[Baku Radio]* 101
New Economic Planning Department in NKAO *[Yerevan International]* 101
Turkmen Party Bureau Reprimands Minister *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 11 Nov]* 101
Kazakh SSR Foreign Minister Appointed *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 102
Kazakh Supreme Soviet Approves Next Year's Plan *[PRAVDA 15 Nov]* 102
Kazakh Informals Form Unofficial Association *[IZVESTIYA 15 Nov]* 103
East Kazakhstan Obkom Elects New First Secretary *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 103
Yakovlev Speaks to Students at Komsomol School *[Moscow Radio]* 103
Ryzhkov Exchanges With Students Cited *[PRAVDA 18 Nov]* 104
Institute Member Says CPSU Could Change Name *[Milan L'UNITA 19 Nov]* 107
Moscow People's Front Publishes New Paper *[Vilnius Radio]* 107
Opinion Poll Shows Division on Cooperatives *[TASS]* 107
Commentator Praises Shevardnadze, Foreign Policy *[Mayorov on Moscow International]* 108
Independent Researchers To Review Armed Forces *[Moscow International]* 108
Readers' Queries on Deputies' Congress *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 46]* 108
Ministries, Departments Declassify Information *[Moscow International]* 110
European Security Committee Session Held *[PRAVDA 5 Nov]* 110
AFL-CIO Aid to Independent Unions Criticized *[TRUD 5 Nov]* 110
Dignitaries Attend Meeting for Rocket Forces Day *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Nov]* 111
More on Usmanov Visit to Vladimir Ilich Plant *[IZVESTIYA 4 Nov]* 112
Lukyanov Chairs Crime Fighting Meeting *[TASS]* 112
Leningrad To Hold Meeting on Political Prisoners *[LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 28 Oct]* 113
Leningrad Informals Hold Remembrance Day *[LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 1 Nov]* 113
Medic Says AIDS Spread Figures Unknown *[Moscow Radio]* 114
Health Commission Investigates Alopecia *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 25 Oct]* 114

Economic

Abalkin Views 'Emergency Measures' on Economy *[TASS]* 114
Imports Backlog Cleared From Ports by 1 Nov *[IZVESTIYA 3 Nov]* 115
Safety of BAM Railroad Section Questioned *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 21 Oct]* 116
Electricity Official on Winter Energy Situation *[IZVESTIYA 13 Nov]* 117
Value of Imported Equipment Stocks Reported *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 25 Oct]* 117
Gosbank Official Discusses New Ruble Rate *[TRUD 27 Oct]* 118
RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Local Self-Financing *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 28 Oct]* 119

Scientific

'Mir' Cosmonauts Complete Series of Experiments *[TASS]* 120
TV Relay Station Begins Operation in Kazakhstan *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 120
Correction to Launching of 'Cosmos-2049' 17 Nov *[TASS]* 120

Military

Yazov on Draft Shortfall, Alternate Service *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 21 Nov]* 120
Aircraft Carrier 'Tbilisi' Receives First Flights *[TASS]* 121
Yazov Order for Rocket Forces, Artillery Day *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Nov]* 122
Maksimov Speech on Missile Troops Day *[Moscow TV]* 122

'New Ideology' for CEMA Cooperation Urged

PM2111130189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences N. Bautina and Candidate of Economic Sciences O. Bakovetskiy: "The Walker Will Get the Better of the Road; Thoughts on Radically Restructuring Cooperation"]

[Text] The tense, sometimes even critical nature of the socioeconomic situation in some CEMA member-countries is affecting the state of mutual cooperation. Looking the truth in the face, it should be admitted that the possibilities for cooperation along the old lines have been exhausted. Differences and contradictions in the countries' interests stand out particularly sharply against the background of the general political situation in the world. The increasing attraction of Western integration groupings is seen as a challenge to socialism from the West.

It is indeed true that the situation with regard to cooperation is now difficult. This was perhaps discussed frankly for the first time in 1987, at the 43d extraordinary sitting of the CEMA session, which adopted a program to restructure the mechanism of mutual cooperation.

Two years have gone by, however, and the situation is still the same. Why? Some believe that it is enough to improve what we have, others propose simply "dispersing" to our respective national homes, while others are sitting it out on the remote chance that we will manage somehow. We will not manage somehow, but there is a way out. Our life and our experience of cooperation have taught us the quite hard, sometimes even bitter lesson that there is not and cannot be a panacea against all evils and that no one has yet invented a universal cure for all of society's ills. "Theory, my friend, is dry, but the tree of life grows greener"—Goethe's words are still relevant today, is that not so?

The CEMA member-countries and CEMA bodies have lately been discussing the idea of a common market. For all the constructiveness of this idea, there is a danger that it could be turned into a model for a panacea. The history of our cooperation abounds in such examples. They include the long-term specially targeted programs, the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration, and, finally, the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress. Not one of them has produced significant results as far as improving cooperation is concerned. The situation is not improving. The continued development of negative processes could lead to a situation where a really integrated Western Europe will do business with backward, disunited socialist states. The paradox is that virtually all the countries are dissatisfied with the present state of cooperation but have as yet failed to agree on its constructive rather than cosmetic transformation.

Considering the harsh realities of the present situation, we must resolutely abandon the old approaches, cliches of which can be seen in the ways it is planned to restructure CEMA and the mechanism of cooperation between the member-countries.

In modern-day conditions we must be clearly aware of a qualitatively new aim of cooperation: To ensure the most effective and, if possible, painless inclusion of the CEMA member-countries as an economic community in world economic ties in order to break through to advanced frontiers of science, technology, and production and guarantee people an appropriate quality of life. This aim could give a new boost to the integration process within the CEMA framework.

The general line with regard to radically transforming cooperation within the CEMA framework consists, in our view, of overcoming uniformism and making the transition to a plurality of forms of cooperation based on genuine democracy. On the economic plane, this presupposes comprehensive consideration for the interests of every country and its participation only in those integration measures in which it is really interested. Any form of collaboration which corresponds to the interests of two or more countries within the CEMA framework must be implemented on equal starting terms. Civilized society has long perfected these equal terms: They are the terms of equivalent commodity exchange. In any cooperation venture, enterprises, cooperatives, associations of producers and consumers, and also state economic bodies must be equal subjects.

This kind of equality between partners is a realistic proposition in the conditions of a homogeneous economic space such as a common market of interested CEMA member-countries. Of course, the formation of a common market will be a long, contradictory, and difficult process aggravated by the absence of developed full-fledged national markets and the consequent lack of real money, prices, and currency exchange rates. But the walker will ultimately get the better of the road.

It is now totally necessary to evolve a new ideology of cooperation that accords with the aims and tasks of renewing socialism. The CEMA countries must go their own way, basing their actions firmly on the realities of the present-day situation in cooperation and in the world: The plurality and diversity of national economic and political systems and global economic ties. Taking account of these realities will make it possible to overcome CEMA's essential autarchy, open up new channels for increasing scientific and technical and economic potential, and ensure our competitive involvement in global economic ties on a collective basis.

A very important condition of CEMA's viability is mutual economic openness in relations with one another and with all countries in the world community. It goes without saying that this process will take time, circumspection, and carefully considered decisions. On the one hand, "delay is fatal" and, on the other, whipping up the

pace is risky. It is precisely for this reason that countries' different degrees of readiness for economic openness must be considered.

In our opinion, the process of "opening up" the economy must be guided and directed.

There is undoubtedly attraction in liberalizing trade and economic relations to the maximum, including credits from Western countries. There is no point in hiding the fact that this idea is very widespread not only in the Soviet Union but also in other socialist countries. If it were not for the striking difference between socioeconomic development levels in the CEMA countries and Western states, this approach would yield immediate, unquestionable benefits. However, given the present conditions, it is fraught with strategic losses. There is a visible prospect of being shackled by debts and having Western businesses transfer ecologically dirty production to our countries. That is why it is necessary first of all to create the conditions for mutual, comprehensive economic openness between the countries of the socialist community. But in this respect there should be no place for excluding socialist countries that are not part of CEMA. This primarily concerns China.

It is a question of forming an economic environment of equal opportunities and a market which cannot arise spontaneously in international integration relations. It is sufficient to recall the EEC policy, which has ensured the formation of a common customs system and the transition to a single market. The entire experience of the modern Western world and its successes in science and technology confirm that it is not simply advisable but vitally necessary to have an organizing principle in integration. The organizing principle in economic cooperation must be implemented by economic means and methods.

When shaping the new model of cooperation, we must preserve the best aspects of our accumulated experience and ensure that outmoded forms are replaced by new, constructive forms of cooperation. Naturally, the development of this process can only be guaranteed by adequate economic instruments, really convertible national and collective currencies, prices which reflect progressive world economic processes, and comprehensive credit facilities.

In these conditions, CEMA can act not only as the center for coordinating and developing joint strategic decisions but also as a collective entrepreneur. What does this mean? First, CEMA must become the vehicle for a package of major economic measures and science, production, and technology projects. Programs for the development of the social sphere must be made a priority: Consumer goods, food, medicines and health care, housing construction, the social infrastructure, and ecology.

Turning CEMA into a center of collective enterprise presupposes changes in its aspect. It could act as a free association of interested countries and their economic, banking, and science and technology units operating on the basis of quite specific, jointly evolved rules of the game.

At present CEMA's financial basis consists of a fairly modest budget (2-3 kopeks per capita), which is formed from the budgets of the member-countries and is used to maintain the international apparatus of the associates. Clearly, this kind of financial basis is not suitable for CEMA's new role. Its financial fund must be formed not only from the countries' budgetary donations, but mainly with the aid of financial contributions from partners of various ranks who have an interest in seeing projects realized. The joint-stock form of financing must play a significant role in this respect.

CEMA's new image, new role, and new functions must be given the appropriate legal backing. Evidently it is now a matter of urgency to conclude an agreement on cooperation which will contain norms defining the council's powers with regard to coordinating economic policy and enterprise, as well as the rights and responsibilities of the countries signatory to this agreement, including with regard to CEMA.

We have offered a pretty general view of one of the most complex problems of the time—the renewal of cooperation between socialist countries. This is, of course, our opinion and our point of view. Other approaches and other options are undoubtedly also possible. But it is a fact that in this difficult task it is essential to have a comparison and clash of opinions that can carve out the spark of truth.

More on New Thinking, Military Policy Conference

Participants' Comments

PM2111120889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[A. Lopukhin report: "The New Thinking—a Real Force"]

[Text] An international scientific conference on "The New Thinking and Military Policy" opened in Moscow 14 November.

In the Hall of Columns of the House of the Unions, politicians, military men, and scientists from more than 40 countries have gathered. Speeches of welcome to the participants were delivered by Academician I.T. Frolov and Doctor V. Sheyelen [as transliterated], chairman of the European scientific group "The Army and Society." This is the first time such a large-scale scientific conference has been held, bringing together representatives of East and West to discuss military-political and social problems, V. Sheyelen stressed in an interview for PRAVDA. "We are living in a period of rapid change in both Western and Eastern Europe," he said. "Obviously these changes will and should influence what we think about problems in the military sphere. And the conference that has opend is a good foundation for this process."

Professor I. Kass [as transliterated] from the U.S. university of national defense, who teaches Soviet military doctrine and strategy, believes that this conference is an important step in the development of contacts in the political and military sphere between the United States and the USSR and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. "When, for instance, your defense minister came to the United States, and spoke very well at our university," she said, "we all felt that it was indeed a historic moment. It is now very important to develop dialogue, so as to trust each other more. Glasnost and perestroyka do not only apply to your domestic problems. Now, for instance, military people from the United States and the USSR can discuss more openly problems of interest to both sides, so as to form a better knowledge of each other's intentions. Everyone in America now wants to know as much as possible about the Soviet Union. I can tell this, for instance, from the enormous number of questions students ask me about your country. I recall that during World War II our two countries were allies, and that is a good basis for developing mutually beneficial contacts between the United States and the USSR in the military sphere and others. We were received very warmly in Moscow. I already knew about Russian hospitality, and now I am pleased to experience it myself."

The conference is discussing problems on whose resolution the future of human civilization depends: War and peace in the system of today's global problems, models of military policy and strategy in the nuclear age, ways of eradicating war, the army and society in the conditions of peaceful coexistence, universal security, the correlation of common human priorities and national security, conversion, and so forth.

The conference continues.

Results Summarized

PM2111132589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel S. Pashayev report: "From Dialogue to Cooperation"]

[Text] The international scientific conference on "The New Thinking and Military Policy," convened on the initiative of a number of Soviet and foreign organizations, has completed its work.

Anton Vebler, a scientist from Yugoslavia, who delivered a report entitled "Professional Servicemen in European and Socialist Countries: Reforms and Pluralism," was almost the most popular man at the international conference on "The New Thinking and Military Policy." He was unable to rest in the recess between the sittings—the guest hardly had time to answer numerous questions. He did this every time gladly and thoroughly, and spoke utterly frankly.

What is his opinion of this forum? These meetings, Professor Vebler believes, are a splendid opportunity to get together. Moreover, they are an opportunity for people who work directly on the problems under discussion and are not representing their countries as "celebrities," as was frequently the case before. This in itself—the readiness to talk openly, argue competently, and uphold one's viewpoint fearlessly—gives a vivid sense of the changes that have taken place and are taking place in the Soviet Union, he stressed.

Doctor W. Scheelen from the Netherlands, U.S. Colonel (retired) R. Warner, Doctor H.-U. Kohr, FRG representative, and other participants in the conference expressed themselves in a similar vein, stressing the businesslike and frank nature of the debates on questions which seem to be the topic of the day. They include the shaping of military policy and strategy in the nuclear age, disarmament and human rights, the creation of a universal system of security, and problems associated with sources of international tension. It was once customary in our country to talk mainly about tension between the two military potentials—NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Or about tension brought about by local conflicts in various regions of the planet. Often, no importance was attached to other sources which could influence the development of the world situation.

Thanks to changes in views on international life, our vision of the rest of the world has become both clearer and richer and our gaze has turned to those phenomena and processes which are also capable in the new situation of jeopardizing peoples' security. For instance, international terrorism. This is not merely political killings and

piracy. Today we realize increasingly clearly the possible global consequences of activity by extremists, who are capable of using the most modern weapons, including mass destruction weapons, for their criminal ends. The following idea was voiced at the conference: Cooperation is also necessary here at a solid, governmental level.

In the course of vigorous, interested dialogue, the discussion turned, for example, to the questions of how to promote the development of the trend away from a strong-arm military policy toward a policy of deterrence [sderzhivaniye], how to regard the military's role in preventing war, how to make a transition in the long term from nuclear to nonnuclear deterrence, whether the term "deterrence" should be used at all in conjunction with weapons like nuclear weapons, and so on.

The questions on which the participants concentrated their attention included analysis of the economic, political, and social factors affecting the intensification or lessening of the military threat. The attempt to provide value descriptions and assessments of the conversion of military production and the army's transfer to the principle of professional manpower acquisition and to trace development trends in military structures and bring them closer to the protective military rather than the strong-arm military model seemed interesting and useful.

Having adopted an appeal to military figures, politicians, and scientists from all countries of the world and urged them to concentrate their efforts on the quest for the optimum means of creating a nonviolent world, the conference completed its work. There is no doubt that, having summed up a vast quantity of ideas, opinions, and practical proposals, it constitutes a weighty contribution to fruitful cooperation between the forces in favor of stability and dialogue.

Statement Issued at UN on International Security

LD2111103289 Moscow TASS in English 1020 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] New York November 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov:

"The Soviet Union believes that the discussion by the 44th U.N. General Assembly session of the implementation of the declaration on the consolidation of international security should help find new possibilities, ideas and approaches to consolidate and perfect the system of collective security envisaged in the U.N. Charter, and particularly its core—the Security Council," a Soviet Government statement on this issue circulated here on Monday pointed out.

The international climate is changing notably under the impact of new political thinking. Confrontation is giving way to international cooperation and interaction.

It is obvious, the statement says, that at the present juncture the United Nations has to discharge increasingly the function of regulator and guarantor of international peace and security, and of a world centre for the prevention of conflicts and crisis.

The experience of past years has shown that the United Nations has impressive potential for finding effective political solutions to regional conflicts. There is growing awareness that in present day conditions national security should be ensured primarily by political means.

The United Nations' ability to play an effective role in the consolidation of international security is directly linked with the raising of the efficiency of its principal bodies. Thus, the Security Council could be made more efficient by holding its periodical meetings at the level of foreign ministers.

The process of disarmament, primarily nuclear, is undoubtedly of decisive importance for strengthening international security. Of fundamental importance in this case, as before, are the Soviet-American dialogue, the negotiations on the nuclear-space complex, and talks on the banning of nuclear tests and elimination of chemical weapons.

Further progress towards the noble goal of creating a nuclear-free, non-violent world calls for the more active involvement of other nuclear powers and of the world community as a whole in the joint search for the shortest routes to disarmament, in the solution of verification problems and consolidation of international trust.

Displaying goodwill and adhering firmly to the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements concluded under the aegis of the United Nations, the Soviet Union has withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan. This ensured an important precondition for restoring peace in that country.

"We are convinced that the United Nations and its secretary general have far from exhausted their resources in ensuring a strict, non-selective observance of the Geneva accords, the statement says. At the present stage it is necessary to press for an end to the bloodshed, to set up with U.N. assistance a negotiations mechanism to achieve a settlement in Afghanistan.

The Security Council and the U.N. secretary general have played an important role in achieving a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq. The U.N. action to grant Namibia independence is gaining momentum.

The galvanisation of numerous negotiation mechanisms creates prerequisites for a political settlement, with the international community's participation, of conflicts in Central America, the Middle East, Western Sahara, Cyprus and in other regions.

The started processes to settle conflicts and to break the deadlock in the solution of other regional problems must be made irreversible if the task of strengthening peace and security is to be solved. Very important in this light

is the urgent liquidation of the apartheid regime in South Africa which destabilizes the situation in that part of the continent.

It is important to concentrate efforts not only on the realisation of U.N. peace-making potential in settling regional conflicts, but also on the fuller use of its capability to prevent new seats of tension. The Soviet Union believes that peace-keeping operations should play a special role in this respect. The U.N. preventive functions could be promoted by the elaboration of agreed approaches to the creation of a system for the early detection of crisis and conflicts.

The United Nations could provide the basis for the creation of an international centre to prevent a military danger. There is a growing need to raise the efficiency of the U.N. mechanism to collect information and facts and to investigate international disputes and conflicts.

The strengthening of international security should be promoted by an active joint search for the solutions of economic, humanitarian and ecological problems confronting the world community, the Soviet Government stresses. It expresses readiness to carry on a constructive dialogue with all the countries of the world.

East Europe Changes, West's Attitude Viewed

LD1911193189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1458 GMT 19 Nov 89

[From "International Panorama Program," presented by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov]

[Text] [Ovchinnikov] Presenters of "International Panorama" have already said that the internal life of socialist countries which previously remained outside the framework, as it were, of our program, has not only become an important part of it but has even come to the fore. The dramatic turn of events in the GDR, the change of leadership in Buglaria, the situation in Poland and Hungary, and the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union—all these phenomena have become an important factor in world politics. How ought the West to react to the swift changes taking place at the moment in Eastern Europe? That indeed is the theme which is being discussed first and foremost in commentaries about the meeting between Gorbachev and Bush, which will take place in 2 weeks off the shores of Malta. It was to discuss that very matter that there was an emergency meeting of heads of state and government of the European Economic Community yesterday in Paris.

The processes of the renewal of socialism are taking place in each country in their own way. This reflects differences in conditions at the outset, economic possibilities and the level of political development. But they have a common direction—to bring out the humanitarian potential of socialism more fully. That single direction is favourable to the construction of a common European home, for it brings countries closer together and makes them more open while creating new opportunities for human contact and exchange based on equality of rights.

In essence, noted the Soviet head of State when receiving the French foreign minister recently, what we are seeing is the development of the Helsinki process in its specific modern forms. There is something else which must be noted. Those who shouted loudest of all about the export of revolution from the Soviet Union to the West are now calling for the export of capitalism in the opposition direction. They are hoping that the snowball effect of the changes will give rise not to renewal, but to the dismantling of socialism.

That is dangerous short-sightedness, for the positive changes which have taken place recently on the international arena are not a bolt from the blue. They are the result of the new political thinking born of Soviet perestroyka and reforms in other socialist countries. To try to use the processes of democratization in this part of the world to the detriment of the interests of socialism means undermining perestroyka, while the failure of perestroyka would again throw the world back into the days of the cold war and an unrestrained arms race. This is recognized by sensible political figures. As was stated recently by U.S. Secretary of State Baker, unilateral advantages should not be sought, and instability in Eastern Europe or the USSR should not be provoked. That is not in accordance with the interests of the West or the United States.

It is particularly dangerous in current conditions to encroach in any way on the postwar arrangement of Europe. That applies primarily to discussion of the reunification of Germany within the frontiers of 1937, a discussion which has gained new momentum in connection with recent events in the GDR.

Swedish Minister's Remarks on Baltics Welcomed

PM2111142789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent G. Charodeyev report: "Approach Free From Emotion"]

[Text] A scheduled briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists was addressed by Yu.A. Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration. He said that the Soviet Union has noted that during his recent official visit to the USSR, including during his time in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson reaffirmed Sweden's well known attitude that Sweden does not consider the Soviet Baltic republics to be territories occupied by the Soviet Union. The 30 May 1941 agreement between the Soviet and Swedish governments on the settlement of mutual property claims relating to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia signified Sweden's recognition of the Baltic republics' incorporation into the Soviet Union, the minister said.

It is noteworthy that the overwhelming majority of leading Swedish newspapers, which have commented extensively on these statements, believe that any other approach would be, to quote the newspaper SVENSKA DAGBLADET, an "unreasonable, provocative foreign policy" and warn of the danger of a simplistic interpretation of the situation. The fact that the situation is far from straightforward is evidenced, in particular, by the conversation the Swedish minister had in Vilnius with the "Sajudis" leadership. At the press conference he gave at the end of this conversation S. Andersson said that even within this movement there are different views on the future state status of the republic.

"We, for our part," the person conducting the briefing emphasized, "welcome the clear policy pursued by Sweden on this matter and also Andersson's statements, which are further evidence that any problems which arise, particularly when they concern nationalities policy, require a well considered, well thought-out approach free from emotional overtones."

'Roundtable' Debates Resolution, Regional Conflicts

LD1911195189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 19 Nov 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Gennadiy Vedenyapin, not further identified, and Nikolay Agayants and Boris Andrianov, All-Union Radio foreign political commentators]

[Text] [Vedenyapin] Hello comrades. This is "International Observers Roundtable", and I am your host, Gennadiy Vedenyapin. Beside me I have my colleagues, Nikolay Agayants and Boris Andrianov, All-Union Radio foreign political commentators.

I'd like to begin with an event which has rightly attracted the attention of the world public. This week at a United Nations General Assembly session, without any debate, or, as is it customary to say in such cases, by consensus, a joint Soviet-U.S. resolution was adopted. It is entitled: Reinforcing Peace, Security, and International Cooperation in All Its Aspects in Accordance With the UN Charter. This was the first time in the history of the United Nations that the Soviet Union and the United States acted as joint authors of a political resolution. It's meaning is absolutely clear: The two superpowers have expressed their intention to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in the cause of strengthening peace and international cooperation. The resolution calls upon all UN member states to conduct consultations and cooperate within the framework of the United Nations, within the framework of the General Assembly Security Council, to find multilateral approaches aimed at implementing the principles contained in the UN Charter.

[Agayants] I remind you, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich that the joint work on the resolution began in the summer of this year and, of course, the fact that it reached a successful conclusion was due, to a large extent, to the recent meeting in Wyoming between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Also of importance was the news of the forthcoming summit meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush, announced simultaneously in Moscow and Washington. The actual procedure of adopting the resolution at the plenary session took literally a matter of minutes.

[Andrianov] One might say that a page connected with the Cold War period has been turned. A precedent has been born for joint action by the USSR and the United States in the United Nations, which will undoubtedly help to surmount the until-recently impenetrable wall of incomprehension and ideological confrontation that, alas, for many decades has largely determined the activities of that international organization.

[Vedenyapin] The world community is now more and more frequently noting with satisfaction the revival of the UN's role and its real contribution to solving large-standing and complex problems. Because it's no secret that the organization was, at one time, conceived by the victorious powers as a guarantee of their domination in the post-war world. In effect it was conceived as an organization of great powers and for them themselves, first and foremost. It's nice to see the situation has changed dramatically of late, with the United Nations gradually beginning to take up a fitting place in the world arena. The main reason for this is nothing other than the improvement in relations, the relations between our country and the United States, wich took the path of cooperation and allowed the UN to take a constructive part in it as well.

[Agayants] But it is logical to ask what would happen if Soviet-U.S. relations suddenly deteriorated tomorrow? Would the UN's role also decline once more?

[Andrianov] On this point, in my view, many people are voicing the just view that a system of guarantees is needed against a state of affairs in which the UN's role and cababilities depend on the state of relations between the two great powers. It's perfectly clear that we need the kind of system of guarantees that will allow the organization to permanently be an independent factor in world politics, a factor that determines the very atmosphere and tone of international relations. Clearly this problem is hardly going to be solved on the spot, without being given proper study; but we should start thinking in earnest about it now, today. So it's no coincidence that there has been broad discussion recently of all kinds of draft UN reforms. In particular, I think every attention should be given to many ideas aimed at increasing the role played by the Security Council and at reviving the military staff committee or, let's say, an ecological security council. True, it's probably too early, alas, to consider these all-embracing proposals.

[Vedenyapin] The increasing role played by the United Nations in the world does not, of course, in any way, rule

out the tremendous importance of political dialogue at the summit level between heads of state and government. The latest examples of a successful exchange of views can be considered Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with France's Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and his conversation with Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth and Laurent Fabius, speaker of France's National Assembly. They discussed a great many things: Fundamental matters pertaining to the present stage of development both in Eastern and Western Europe and problems concerning the common future of the peoples of our continent.

[Agayants] The Soviet leader shared with his interlocutors his thoughts on the main trends in East-West relations, the European process, and the socialist world. Quite recently, he noted that we were at a crossroads. Which way would the world go: Toward further confrontation, escalation of ideological hostility, and exacerbation of the military threat, or down the path of cooperation, mutual understanding, and the quest for agreement? The choice seems to have been made, and the task now is to develop, in a calm and well- considered fashion, the progress toward a new period of peace. The depth and significance of the changes make it essential to augment efforts to meet each other halfway, both from the West and the East.

[Vedenyapin] Mikhail Sergeyevich voiced his conviction that these endeavors by both sides will be mutually enriching and that it is not a time for destroying the existing international political and economic institutions. They should be allowed to transform themselves on the basis of internal processes and to determine their places in the new situation and interact. It is time to come to terms with the fact that today's world does not consist of two mutually exclusive civilizations but one common civilization in which universal human values and freedom of choice are predominant. There is, incidentally, interesting experience of solving the most varied problems in different societies, and the art of contemporary politics consists precisely in using that experience both for one's own and the general good.

[Andrianov] Yes, and I think that the forthcoming meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush off the coast of Malta will also contribute to the triumph of that art. By the way, the U.S. side expressed its attitude toward that meeting by the president himself. Speaking last Wednesday at the congress of the AFL-CIO—that major U.S. trade union organization—George Bush gave an assessment of the positive changes taking part in our country and paid tribute to the efforts by our leadership to restructure the life of Soviet society. He said, in particular, that it is against the background of such changes that he sees his meeting with the Soviet leader.

We are not meeting, Bush noted, to negotiate over the future of Europe; the peoples of Eastern Europe are themselves speaking out frankly on that score. The U.S. President said he intends to work toward advancing the reform and democracy processes. I would also like to know, he continued, what President Gorbachev thinks about the problems he is facing at home and about the new course that he has laid down for Soviet policy in Eastern Europe. I would also like to speak with President Gorbachev, said Bush, on the possibility of progressing beyond the stance of deterrence in relations between the United States and the USSR and of finding spheres of mutual benefit in our relations.

[Vedenyapin] The forthcoming talks are to last no less than 16 hours, quite sufficient time for a serious and thorough dialogue. The meeting itself, to remind you, is of a purely working nature, and in Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze's view—as he said in an interview on Soviet radio—we shouldn't really expect any major breakthroughs. However, Comrade Shevardnadze said: I do not rule out the possibility of some major accords being reached, even though there is no clear-cut agenda and we have not been doing any particular preparatory work. But it often happens in history that when major leaders of great powers meet, even at meetings like this, some very serious intellectual breakthroughs occur. That's what happened in Reykjavik and there are other precedents, too; so I think, said our minister, that this meeting is going to be of very great significance in, among other things, advancing the disarmament process.

[Agayants] It seems to me that scarcely anyone will now undertake to dispute the opinion that Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze expressed. The world indeed really is linking solid hopes that the international climate will become more healthy, something which is to the benefit of everyone, with the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, even though it's described as a working meeting.

[Andrianov] In the course of our conversation we referred to the work of the 44th United Nations General Assembly. I think that there are now grounds to speak about this international forum in more detail. This week's participants began to discuss the Cambodia situation. This question is not new, as you of course know, but at the present session it is being considered in conditions which are significantly different from the situation that existed during the discussions at the previous General Assembly sessions. The essence of such a radical difference consists in the fact that about 2 months ago, the full withdrawal from Cambodia of Vietnamese military units was completed by 27 September.

[Agayants] I think, Boris Vasiliyevich, it is worth stressing once again how important this military and political action by Vietnam was. After all, it was indisputably a very major practical contribution to eliminating the conflicts of Southeast Asia. This step by Vietnam marked a new stage in the development of the situation in Cambodia and around it. Specifically

speaking, it created favorable conditions for achieving national reconciliation, for an all-embracing resolution of the Cambodian problem.

[Andrianov] These thoughts, incidentally, are reflected in the speeches of the participants in the General Assembly session. To a large extent, they agree in their views and call on the Cambodian sides to continue the dialogue that has been started, to speed up the start of the second stage of the international conference on Cambodia, which started last summer in Paris.

[Vedenyapin] All that is so, Boris Vasiliyevich, but it would, however, be a mistake to close ones eyes to the fact that divergences continue to exist also in the positions of the UN member countries, who relate differently to the questions of what paths might be followed in the future, which may allow a solution to the problem.

[Andrianov] that is a just remark. Let me make clear that such multivalent positions have revealed themselves; above all, with regard to the draft resolution presented by the indonesian delegate on behalf of quite a large group of countries. One feels that, as before, the obsolete approaches of former times are weighing on these documents, unfortunately.

[Agayants] Yes, both in its political and psychological content, this draft resolution clearly falls short of the spirit of that mutual understanding which was achieved at the unofficial meeting in Jakarta and at the international forum in Paris, which you mentioned.

[Andrianov] This is a true, but rather general definition of the content of the document. Specifically speaking, the authors of the draft refuse to recognize that the full withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia has taken place. On what grounds? Because, in their words, it was allegedly implemented without the proper international supervision.

[Vedenyapin] This is a more than doubtful argument. Do those who drew up this document really not know that both the Vietnamese and the Cambodian sides on more than one occasion made the proposal to send international supervisors to Cambodia? Is it really not well-known that the representatives of the governments of 17 countries, including those of 11 nonaligned states, observed the final stages of the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces? The representatives of six international organizations and a whole corps of journalists numbering several hundred correspondents of the foreign press, radio, and television also played this role of observers; or is their information regarding the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops now considered untrustworthy?

[Andrianov] It turns out that that is actually the case, despite the obvious facts which the authors of the draft resolution simply do not want to recognize. You know what thought comes to mind in connection with this? The person who raises this question is in essence speaking in favor of Vietnam again putting its troops into Cambodia and then withdrawing them again, but in the framework of an all-embracing settlement, as it were.

[Vedenyapin] On the whole, if one thinks about it, that is indeed how it turns out, but this is clearly distorted logic. Ignoring political realities, it is only capable of leading to a deadend and of making it more difficult for the United Nations to carry out its peacemaking role in the resolution of the Cambodian problem. Whom can this serve?

[Agayants] It is not too difficult to guess, I think, those same external forces indeed, who serve as the source of the rumors that have sprung up recently, that Vietnamese troops allegedly have returned to Cambodia. They are spreading such absurdities with a quite definite aim. It consists in continuing to supply military assistance to the three opposition Khmer groups in order to unleash further civilian war in Cambodia. This war has already begun. Moreover, Pol Pot's men are the reason for its being expanded. The international community is becoming more and more convinced of this every day, and it is for that reason that at the current United Nations General Assembly session many draw attention to the necessity of preventing the return to power of the Pol Pot clique in Cambodia, which, as is well-known, soaked in blood the soil of this country, which has suffered much.

[Andrianov] Many, Nikolay Ivanovich, but not all.

However I will not speak without substantiating what I say, and I will refer to a few statements of Jeremy Stone, chief manager of the Federation of American Scientists. He wrote an article in THE NEW YORK TIMES in which he stated directly that the United States is conducting a secret war against the Government of Cambodia, from which only Pol Pot's men can draw advantage. The United States, it says in the article, is continuing to use its financial and intelligence capabilities in order to weaken the government headed by Hun Sen, which, as the U.S. scientist stresses, constitutes the only force capable of preventing the seizure of power by Pol Pot's men. In addition, Jeremy Stone points out, Washington is putting pressure on Thailand, where the main bases of the Cambodian armed opposition are situated, in order that Bangkok does not close the opposition's main weapons supply channels, which pass across the territory of its country. According to the evidence of the scientist, a top-secret working group on Cambodia is functioning in Bangkok. CIA workers and also highly placed officials of Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore are members of the group. It is through this very group, Stone notes, that the United States coordinates each step by the armed detachments headed by Prince Sihanouk and Son Sann, which, together with Pol Pot's men, are conducting a war against the Phnom Penh government. The expenditure by Washington on giving assistance to Cambodian antigovernment groupings constitutes $24 million a year. In the conclusion of the article, the main manager of the Federation of American Scientists, that is, its director, stresses that the United

States is by its actions obstructing the ending of the war in long-suffering Cambodia.

[Vedenyapin] Recently information came in that the U.S. Congress is intending to bring in new restrictions on the supply of weapons to antigovernment formations in Cambodia. These restrictions, if one judges by the data of the U.S. press, are a component of the secret supplement to the draft law on military appropriations for the current financial year, which is now being considered on the Capitol. These restrictions deprive President Bush of the possibility of using the special funds of the CIA to arm antigovernment forces in Cambodia. In usual circumstances the approval of Capitol Hill to use the funds that exist in case of various, extraordinary situations, is not required. However, as the U.S. press explains, key members of the appropriations committees in Congress, especially Robert Byrd, chairman of the Senate Committee, are protesting categorically against U.S. military assistance being given to Cambodian rebels. Byrd, in particular, expresses the fear that such assistance could lead, in his words, to a new major military intervention by the United States in an armed conflict in Southeast Asia.

[Agayants] This is thoroughly logical reasoning, which is something that perhaps one cannot say of the statement by the Bush administration. It asserts that the United States is allegedly not now supplying the antigovernment formations of Cambodia with arms. But if this corresponds to reality, then why in that case did the same administration respond so pointedly to the intention expressed by Congress to introduce new restrictions on the delivery of weapons to Cambodian opposition groupings? It is clear that the one thing does not go together with the other.

[Andrianov] Of course, as the saying is, it doesn't gel. Incidentally let me say that to continue in the present conditions to give military assistance to the Cambodian opposition is equivalent to encouraging the attempts of Pol Pot's men to return themselves to power. After all when there are now no more foreign troops in Cambodia it is not possible to justify the delivery of weapons to antigovernment formations by making reference to the necessity of the struggle against so-called foreign intervention.

[Vedenyapin] The military operations that have now gotten underway in Cambodia demonstrate vividly how far from the truth are those who have asserted that the Cambodian conflict is essentially a matter of the presence of Vietnamese troops. Their withdrawal was regarded by the armed opposition and those supporting it, not as a chance for national reconciliation, but merely as an oportunity to seize power by military force.

[Agayants] That, incidentaly, has been manifested no less vividly in Afghanistan. Now, evidently, the same thing is happening in Cambodia as well. What, then, is going on? What is the cause of it? What, finally, is at the root of similar situations? I take it that the answer to these questions is to be sought in the attitudes of a number of states which have a certain influence in the region. There is every sign that they have not yet come to a definite political decision on this matter, and it's time they did. Or else these states are simply hatching their own self-interested plans, which they are determined to cling to despite the substantial changes in the international situation.

[Vedenyapin] On the eve of our Roundtable meeting I've been looking through the reports of the major news agencies such as EFE, PRENSA LATINA, REUTER, UPI and ASSOCIATED PRESS. I must say that among other acute and highly important issues, the Central American theme continues to occupy a very conspicuous place. There's a report on the continuing session of the Organization of American States and the talks which are being conducted by representatives of Nicaragua and of the Contras. Then, finally, there is the deteriorated situation in Salvador and the tension in Panama, where, as we know, an armed coup was attempted only recently. Taken together, all these problems represent a pretty tight and tangled knot which simply can't be cut with a single slash of the sword after the manner of Alexander the Great.

[Agayants] It's quite obvious that today the most intricate contemporary Gordian knots have got to be unravelled—but that takes time and patience and, of course, the goodwill of the sides.

[Andrianov] It's that goodwill, alas, that is at times lacking. Take, for example, the continuing talks on technical aspects of the disbanding of the formations of the Nicaraguan Contras.

[Vedenyapin] You're referring to the talks that are being held in accordance with the agreements between the presidents of the five countries of Central America. It was [as heard] reached, if you remember, at their meeting in the Honduran town of Tela.

[Andrianov] Of course. Now the second round has taken place, with a Sandinista delegation, representives of the Contras, the permanent representative of Honduras at the United Nations—as observer—and also members of the internatonal support and observation commission, taking part. Nicaragua's delegation put forward concrete proposals, aimed at disbanding the armed groups of Contras and returning them to normal life. Former counterrevolutionaries returning to their homeland are guaranteed all the political and economic rights which all citizens of the republic enjoy. In the event of this plan being accepted, Managua undertakes to renew its unilateral cessation of offensive military operations against the Contras, and also to declare a temporary cessation of arms imports, until 25 April next year.

[Vedenyapin] Well, I think that's as clear a stance as you could wish for. It provides some possibility of maneuvering the quest for solutions that will lead to an agreement, and it is directed toward restoring peace in the

country and in the region as a whole. But the representatives of the Contras are clearly trying to get a temporary truce: They want to postpone a settlement until a later date. They're trying, by hook or by crook, to aggravate the debate, describing the proposals of the Sandinista government as not serious.

On the issue of disbanding the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary formations, one of their leaders, Enrique Bermudez, has told journalists that they won't exchange their arms for democracy.

[Agayants] Well, that's not just rhetoric, but a move calculated well ahead. Under the accords between the presidents of Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras, Salvador and Nicaragua, the formations of the Contras are to be demobilized by 5 December of this year. The country's general election is set for February of next year. It's clear that the opposition, in its struggle against the Sandinistas, would like to use not only the political and financial support of the United States, but also the help of the armed units of the Contras, who are terrorizing the population and hindering the election campaign. It is these frankly provocative actions, by the way, that have prompted the government's decision to renew offensive operations against the Contras.

[Andrianov] For Nicaagua—and this is a fact—the present time is politically very difficult and very crucial. The stage of active preparation for the elections has begun. By a free expression of the people's will, they have got to ensure national reconciliation in a long-suffering country which has been torn apart by many years of armed confrontation. This election process has become in truth an act of goodwill by the Sandinista government, which is concerned, above all, about the problems of achieving peace and calm in the republic. Let me remind you that, at Managua's request, a UN mission has been in the country since 25 August, supervising preparations for the election. The government has done everything to ensure that the Nicaraguan people will express its will in the very fullest way, and is carrying out all its obligations consistently and scrupulously.

[Vedenyapin] Well, Boris Vasilyevich, take just one fact: On the initiative of the republic's supreme electoral council, television debates between the political parties have begun there. This is clearly one more proof of the genuinely democratic nature of the changes that are taking place in the republic, as President Daniel Ortega said in opening the discussion. He noted that all the country's political forces, including the opposition, have been given an opportunity to conduct their pre-election propaganda openly. Also of no small importance is the fact that the government is meeting all the expenses of arranging the television filming and broadcasting the debates.

[Agayants] It should be noted that such freedom in the framework of an election campaign is absolutely unprecedented in the Western hemisphere. Neither in the United States, nor—as far as I know—in any other country in Latin America—in other words in the vast region south of Rio Grande del Norte—has the opposition ever been able to use state television free—I emphasize, free—for election purposes. In that sense, Nicaragua can, of course, serve as an example to all the states of the continent.

[Andrianov] All that is so, Nikolay Ivanovich. But it's also a noticeable fact that no part has been played in the tele-debates which have begun in Nicaragua by any representatives of the rightwing pre-election bloc, the Opposition National Alliance—ONA for short. Yet it was that alliance that accused the Sandinist government of using television only to publicize the pre-election program of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, and keeping its political opponents off the screen.

[Vedenyapin] Well, summing up this topic, Nikolay Ivanovich, one should probably say this: That during November, all the political parties of the republic will have a chance to go on the air three times a week; and from December through to the begining of the elections, in other words until 25 February of next year, the debates are to be televised daily.

[Agayants] If in Nicaragua—albeit with strain and with a few interruptions and complications—the process of normalization is nevertheless going forward and gathering strength; in another hotspot of the region, by which I mean El Salvador, the situation has deteriorated sharply in recent days. There, over the whole territory, stubborn and fierce battles are being fought. The offensive by the fighting men of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front which began a week ago is steadily increasing in scope. The insurgents now control eight of the country's 14 departments.

[Andrianov] I'd say that some such turn of events has not really been unexpected. When the latest round of talks was held in Costa Rica in the middle of last month between representatives of the partisans and of the government of Alfredo Cristiani, it did indeed seem at first that a way would be found to move forward, slowly but still tangibly, toward...[apparently changes thought] Central American Republic for nearly 10 years, and carried off, by the way, about 70,000 lives. Even at the time, observers noted the government's desire to limit the range of issues being examined, and restrict the talks to an examination of issues concerning the disarming of the insurgents. In other words, the authorities were quite simply trying to get the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front to capitulate, without offering any guarantees that could have brought peace and calm to El Salvador.

[Vedenyapin] Here I think it's important not to leave out one serious element. The insurgents have said repeatedly that they are in favor of settling the conflict not on the battlefield, but by equal negotiation at the conference table. Incidentally, they expressed a willingness to lay down their arms and join in a peaceful democratic process.

[Agayants] True. But strictly on condition that the government fulfilled a number of their demands: That, in particular, it carried out a purge of armed forces, reformed the constitution and legal system and put a stop to repressions against civilians. But, unfortunately, the Salvadoran authorities refused to meet those demands, and as a result the third round of the talks was broken off and military operations were resumed.

[Vedenyapin] Well, our time's up, so it only remains for me to thank our listeners for their attention and my colleagues for taking part in the programme. Goodbye, comrades, and all the best to you.

United States & Canada

Bush Anticipates 'Historic' Malta Meeting

PM2111161189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "USSR-United States: Continuing Dialogue"]

[Text] Washington, 21 Nov—"We are living in astonishing times. Never before has there been such a favorable opportunity for strengthening peace and reducing tension," U.S. President G. Bush said Monday in Providence (Rhode Island).

The upcoming meeting with M.S. Gorbachev in early December off the coast of Malta, he noted, will be of "historic significance," particularly in the light of such dynamic changes taking place in Eastern Europe, which, the President said, no one could have foreseen.

On the same day, in another speech, the President said: "I am going to Malta to continue the dialogue with President Gorbachev. It is very important for the U.S. and Soviet leaders to participate in an open and substantive dialogue at all levels." He said that he will make every effort to understand the "fantastic, dynamic transformations" taking place in the countries of Eastern Europe and in the USSR, but, at the same time, he intends to display "caution and circumspection."

The White House announced that President G. Bush will address the nation Wednesday on the upcoming unofficial Soviet-American summit. His speech will be broadcast to the whole country on radio and television from his Camp David (Maryland) out-of-town residence, where the President will be spending the national holiday of Thanksgiving.

White House press secretary M. Fitzwater confirmed that after the meeting off the coast of Malta G. Bush will stop off in Brussels to tell the NATO allies about the results of his talks with the Soviet leader.

Bush, Genscher Agree on East-West Relations

LD2211002589 Moscow TASS in English 0001 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko: President George Bush met in the White House on Tuesday visiting West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Their talks, attended by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Presidential National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, centered around East-West relations and the developments in East European countries.

Before the talks, Genscher, questioned by reporters about the modernisation of short-range nuclear weapons deployed on the West German territory, replied that the time to discuss that question would come in 1992, as envisaged in the communique of the NATO member-countries.

After the talks with President Bush, Genscher met journalists again. He noted, among other things, that the United States and West Germany were fully in accord in their assessments of the international situation and East-West relations.

He called the developments in the countries of Eastern Europe "very inspiriting" and said they were an important contribution to the strengthening of stability and security in Europe as a whole.

Genscher stressed that West Germany has been and remained a dependable member of the Western alliance and that the alliance should be preserved.

Genscher favoured the continued U.S. presence in Europe as that presence, in his opinion, ensured the stable framework for maintaining security.

At the same time, the West German Foreign minister stressed the need to take vigorous measures to promote disarmament and especially to reduce conventional arms and armaments.

Genscher noted the need to create structures to ensure security in Europe that should to an ever increasing degree be based on cooperation.

In reply to the question if he and the U.S. President discussed in the Oval Office the question of reducing troops by, for instance, 10 per cent, the West German foreign minister replied that they had not gone into details.

The Western countries must clearly and unequivocally demonstrate to the Soviet Union and its allies that the West was aware of the possibility of difficulties arising in the process of reform. The countries of the West were interested in the success of perestroyka reforms and would do nothing to disrupt that process from the outside, Genscher stressed.

The Western allies will by no means seek to derive one-sided advantages from the situations that may arise in the process of reform in the countries of central and Eastern Europe.

The West German foreign minister said they were seeking to create stable conditions and would do everything in their power to facilitate the process.

Genscher said he was satisfied with the fact that his point of view upon all these matters fully coincided with the point of view of President George Bush. Their attitudes were also identical towards the forthcoming Soviet-American summit in the Mediterranean.

Announced U.S. Defense Cuts Evaluated

PM2111192189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Manki Ponomarev "Observer's Opinion": "If Only Words Could Become Actions"]

[Text] Time is rapidly accelerating. Each day brings reports more startling than before. What was yesterday quite inconceivable is now becoming not just possible but even necessary. This time the sensation has come from overseas.

The fact that the United States increases its military spending year in and year out had seemed fixed and inevitable. The Pentagon had never been refused anything. Extra billions needed for new missiles, aircraft carriers, submarines, aircraft, tanks, SDI, or other exotic projects? No problem. Congress would agree to everything, just so long as the military-industrial complex is happy. Then the U.S. military department was allocated $305 billion for the next fiscal year. A pretty sum, as people used to say.

Then suddenly (and "suddenly" is right!) it was reported that Washington planned to cut military spending next year by billions of dollars—initially by $10 billion—and in this connection to cut armed forces numbers and scrap a number of arms development [sozdaniye] programs. And none other than Defense Secretary R. Cheney reported this. Until quite recently, Cheney had been stubbornly defending each cent of his department's budget to the lawmakers. Moreover, he stated that he had already ordered plans to be drawn up for reductions in Pentagon spending for the next 5 years—the total reduction will perhaps reach $180 billion. This will lead, it is thought, to a reduction of at least two ground forces divisions, the withdrawal of two or three aircraft carriers from naval service, and the withdrawal from service of some B-52 bombers, Minuteman-2 missiles, and certain other types of weapons and military hardware.

What is behind all these proposals? They are proposals, since no final decision on them has been made; it can be concluded that they have only been submitted by the Defense Department to the President, who will have the final say. Above all, they take account of the improvement in the international situation achieved, we would say, to a considerable extent as a result of the spread of the new political thinking generated by the Soviet Union and by the changes taking place in a number of East European countries. Here are R. Cheney's actual words: "The likelihood of a global conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, or between NATO and the Warsaw Pact is probably lower now than at any time since the end of World War II."

That is the external reason. There is also a domestic reason: Military spending has become excessive even for the U.S. economy. It has led to an unprecedented federal budget deficit. In order to eliminate the deficit it will be necessary either to cut appropriations for social needs or to moderate the Pentagon's appetite. The Washington administration has chosen the second route as the option most acceptable today.

These two reasons were directly cited by the head of the U.S. military department. But, I think, those who believe that it is not simply a question of the factors indicated by R. Cheney are correct. There are other factors, too—not stated out loud, but of no less importance.

Let us remember that a year ago at the 43d UN General Assembly Session the Soviet leader announced a major unilateral cut in Soviet Armed Forces and armaments. The world waited to see how the United States would respond to this initiative. Now the outlines of Washington's response are starting to be visible, and, if the U.S. President accepts his defense secretary's recommendations, mankind will be able to breathe a sigh of relief—the United States will also embark on the road to a world in which there will be fewer weapons and greater trust.

One more point. There is no doubt that it was no accident that the planned U.S. military spending cuts were announced at this time. After all, in the very near future the leaders of the two countries will be meeting off the coast of Malta. In submitting its new ideas and choosing the date to announce them, Washington was undoubtedly thinking of avoiding being caught out—as happened to Reagan in Reykjavik—and of coming to the talks with fresh ideas.

Well, vying to see who can do more to strengthen peace and security is a noble undertaking. There can be no losers in this area. And all mankind will be the winner. Provided the talk about these possible moves is implemented.

USSR-U.S. Commission Urges More Trade

PM2211123989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "Trade on the Agenda"]

[Text] Washington—Participants in a session of the joint Soviet-U.S. Commission on Trade which has ended in Washington noted that there is considerable potential for the development of mutually advantageous trade and economic ties between the USSR and the United States.

In order to exploit the existing potential, the session participants believe, new initiatives and steps to eliminate encumbrances and obstacles which still exist are necessary (as is known, trade between the Soviet Union and the United States is being conducted without an official agreement regulating it. As distinct from other U.S. trade partners, the USSR does not enjoy most favored nation status).

As Robert Mosbacher, U.S. secretary of commerce, noted at a press conference, both sides displayed a "positive and constructive approach" to the question of identifying areas of mutually advantageous cooperation.

According to clarifications provided by the U.S. Cabinet secretary, the adoption in the USSR of legislation governing exit from the country will create conditions for the provisional suspension in the United States of the so-called Jackson-Vanik amendment which deprives the USSR of most favored nation status. Consequently, the possibility of the conclusion of an agreement on trade arises.

According to the assessment of K.F. Katushev, USSR minister for foreign economic relations, "Soviet-American trade and economic relations are lagging behind developments in other spheres." "Now that both sides are actively developing mutual ties, the time has come to eliminate the lag in the sphere of trade," Comrade Katushev noted. "In order to achieve this the prime need is to remove existing obstacles."

Commentator Urges U.S. Lifting of Trade Curbs

LD1811024389 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] The U.S. Secretary of Commerce, Mr Robert Mosbacher, speaking in Washington on Thursday, said his country would relax its trade restrictions with the Soviet Union by providing it a most-favored-nation status within 1 to 3 months. Here's commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov.

The question is one of lifting America's trade barriers with the Soviet Union it put up in the 1970s following the Jackson-Vanik Congressional Amendment linking bilateral trade to the Soviet emigration policy at that time. Today in the USSR the emigration procedures have largely been eased. The Soviet parliament this week has approved in its first reading a new bill which brings the existing regulations on Soviet nationals leaving the country for permanent or temporary residence abroad into line with international agreements.

The Soviet Ambassador in the United States, Yuriy Dubinin, speaking in Washington, called the Soviet legislation evidence of new thinking, adding that some positive steps were being expected from the U.S. side.

Many businessmen and Congress members in the United States have long been pressing for positive moves by the administration. Congressman Thomas Downey and Senator Daniel Moynihan brought in a joint resolution in Congress pointing to the need for lifting trade restrictions with the Soviet Union. The resolution was widely approved by senators and congressmen. Senator Thomas Downey, in last week's speech, said he intended to raise the issue with President Bush in advance of the coming superpower summit in the Mediterranean. He said he wanted to make the point that a superb chance could be missed in widening bilateral trade because of the administration's procrastination. That's why the president's meeting with the Soviet leader in December, he said, was assuming a special meaning.

The Americans, meanwhile, let the chance slip on several occasions in the past and America's main rivals in the world market gleaned better advantages from deals with the Soviet Union. The current volume of bilateral trade is put at 3 billion a year compared to 7 billion dollars between the Soviet Union and West Germany, or to 6 billion dollars with a small country such as Finland. Out of the 3 billion dollar worth turnover, Soviet purchases of U.S. grain come to 2 billion dollars.

Experts believe bilateral trade can be boosted to reach an annual 10 to 15 billion dollars in the event of normalization. Those forecasts are also made by the EEC pending a major agreement with the Soviet Union, and also by Japan. With Soviet reform underway, Western businessmen could do well not to miss the bus.

USSR-Canada Joint Political Declaration

PM2211112189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 89 Second Edition pp 1, 4

["Soviet-Canadian Political Declaration"]

[Text] I

The USSR and Canada regard the contemporary world as an interdependent community of nations. They consider that problems of a global nature that can best be solved by the joint efforts of all members of the international community are coming to the fore. They also consider that the development of individual states is not possible without international cooperation.

On the threshold of the third milennium, new, extraordinary approaches, unburdened with the stereotypes of the past which hd negative consequences for the whole complex of international relations, are required. Postwar ideological tension, which manifested itself in the period of the "cold war," is giving way to a more positive atmosphere, which the Soviet Union and Canada are applying all their efforts to strengthen.

Neither the Soviet Union nor Canada is trying to diminish the importance of problems inherited from history. Many of them have survived until today, including the postwar division of Europe and high levels of armaments. Both states are devoted to the cause of building the bridges of mutual understanding and cooperation with the purpose of overcoming this legacy and invigorating the joint search for security.

Within this context Canada and the Soviet Union respect the right of European peoples to go along the path of political and economic transformations without outside interference and in the atmosphere of international confidence and security.

II

Numerous challenges, which threaten the very existence of human civilization, demand that states should adhere to a policy directed toward mutual rapprochement.

Both states think that such a policy should be built on the basis of the principles of the UN charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and the documents of the Madrid and Vienna CSCE meetings and should include the following elements:

—concern for humankind's survival and well-being;

—strengthening peace and security of states by political means, including further measures for limiting armaments and for disarmament; giving up war as a means of national policy:

—settling regional conflicts by political means;

—respect for people's right to determine their fate on the basis of freedom of choice;

—making the United Nations and other international organizations more effective, as the most efficacious means to harmonize the interests of individual states and to ensure universal observance of law and order;

—an all-around development of and assistance for trade and other forms of economic cooperation and for exchanges of the achievements of science and technology;

—respect for human rights and facilitating contacts between people through all forms of dealings and through an exchange of ideas;

—resolute action on national, bilateral, and multilateral bases alike to protect the natural environment, taking cognizance of the fact that the threat of an ecological disaster is, as far as its consequences are concerned, second only to the threat of nuclear war;

—joint efforts to overcome hunger, poverty, and epidemics;

—vigorous efforts to combat such dangers as drug addiction and international terrorism.

III

In the conditions of the improvement of the international climate, the USSR and Canada note that, although much has already been achieved, there is, at the same time, a need for further progress in creating trust and security.

Important progress was attained as a result of the banning of nuclear weapons covered by the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles.

While welcoming what has been achieved, the Soviet Union and Canada favor further progress in the following fields:

—The earliest possible completion of the negotiations on reducing by 50 percent the strategic offensive weapons of the United States and the USSR;

—The earliest possible attainment of specific accords at the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed force reductions and with regard to further measures to strengthen trust and security in Europe;

—Restriction of nuclear tests, with each step in this direction approaching a comprehensive ban on the testing of nuclear weapons;

—Further strengthening of the regime for the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and extension of the number of participants in the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons;

—The earliest possible achievement of an agreement on a global, comprehensive, and verifiable ban on and destruction of chemical weapons.

They are also in favor of progress at all other bilateral negotiations and multilateral forums in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. The Soviet Union and Canada are also in favor of observance of existing regimes in the field of arms limitation, including the ABM treaty, concluded in 1972.

Both states will aim to ensure strict verification of observance of agreements in the field of arms limitation.

Both states are striving for the further broadening of their relations and consultations in the military sphere as a contribution to ensuring greater openness. They welcome the forthcoming meetings aimed at working out a regime of "open skies" as an integral part of this process.

IV

The Soviet Union and Canada are convinced that peaceful productive relations between East and West depend on establishing ties of mutual independence, which are created only in conditions of trust and mutual commitment. In this connection they come out in favor of:

—the further development of the all-European process in all directions on the basis of decisions already agreed, that is the creation of a Europe of peace and cooperation, i.e. a Common European home, with the continuing participation of the United States and Canada as an important factor in building a peaceful future for the whole world. The USSR and Canada view the completion of the Vienna meeting of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) as a major step in bringing down the barriers between East and West. Both sides consider the Final Document of the Vienna meeting to be a landmark in the development of an East- West dialogue on questions of security and cooperation and will work towards its full implementation;

—A buildup in efforts and cooperation between East and West, which are vital to achieve a lasting settlement of regional conflicts by political means, including the situation in Afghanistan, the Near East, Central America, Cambodia, southern Africa, and other regions; the United Nations is urged to play an important role in this.

V

The Soviet Union and Canada are convinced that the present stage of historical development affords possibilities greater than ever before, for the solution of global problems. Some of these problems are becoming more and more acute. The Soviet Union and Canada are uniting their efforts to achieve results in the following areas:

—The widening and deepening of international cooperation in the area of the protection of the environment, the raising of its effectiveness, the agreeing of such measures as would be adequate to the threat created by ecological problems; the holding in 1992 of a UN conference on the environment and development would facilitate these aims;

—The development of regional cooperation in the Arctic in the area of science, ecology, economics, culture, and exchanges between indigenous peoples of the northern regions of state bordering on the Arctic;

—the broad cooperation of states with the purpose of adopting effective measures in accordance with international law to eradicate international terrorism;

—the deepening of interaction in the struggle against such a global problem as the illegal trade in narcotics;

—a constructive and creative search for solutions to the problems of the debts of the developing countries recognizing that the burden of debt borne by these countries is a barrier to their economic development.

The Soviet Union and Canada, aware of their responsibility as members of the world community, are fully resolved to work actively on a bilateral basis and jointly with other states, in order to achieve these and other objectives.

VI

The Soviet Union and Canada view their bilateral ties and contacts, including a political dialogue, in the framework of broader efforts to transform international relations, which have been determined by a state of tension, into relations based on cooperation, dialogue, and confidence. The progressive development of Soviet-Canadian relations over recent years, the steady widening of the range of issues being discussed, and the improvement in the quality of bilateral cooperation are satisfying. The Soviet Union and Canada are uniquely equipped for cooperation since they possess a huge land mass, they occupy together the main part of the Arctic, are neighbors on two oceans, and have ethnic links which are steeped in history.

Canada notes the important significance of the processes of reform taking place in the Soviet Union which have profound consequences both for East-West relations as a whole and for bilateral Soviet-Canadian relations.

The Soviet Union and Canada, recognizing the significance of what has been achieved in the sphere of their mutual relations, intend to proceed further. Both states are reaffirming this convincingly through a dialogue between their leaders and the agreements which were signed during Prime Minister B. Mulroney's official visit to the USSR.

The USSR and Canada will develop a political dialogue at various levels, including the practice of regular consultations between Foreign Ministries, the subject matter of which will be extended.

Their cooperation will be strengthened in the sphere of trade, economic and scientific-technical relations, agriculture, fishing, and civil aviation.

The Soviet Union and Canada have maintained official trade relations since 1956. The opportunities opening up now as a result of the perestroyka of the Soviet economy are being exploited by Canadian entrepreneurs and Soviet economic leaders. Joint enterprises are a new and positive phenomenon in the process of progressing toward greater involvement of the Soviet economy in the international trading system. The two states will assist a more balanced exchange of trade and the establishment of direct contacts between producers, encourage to the utmost the development of cooperation—including by means of training specialists in the marketing sphere—and will further improve the activities of mixed commissions on cooperation in the sphere of agriculture and on economic, industrial, and scientific and technical cooperation.

Agreements exist between the USSR and Canada in relation to desirability of a closer integration of the Soviet economy into the international economic system.

The two states will extend the range of their unique interaction in the Arctic which will obtain priority development. Protection of the environment, particularly in the Arctic with its fragile ecosystem, is an immediate task which cannot be delayed for the Soviet Union and Canada. They will carry out work within the framework of the existing institutions and on a bilateral basis with the aim of restoring the losses inflicted by ecological degradation. The two sides will study the needs for new instruments and institutions for the resolution of this problem.

The USSR and Canada agree to assist the development between them of all forms of cooperation, covered by the third basket [of provisions] of the Helsinki Final Act. They also commit themselves to fully implement the provisions of the Vienna Final Document and other documents of the CSCE, which concern human rights and basic freedoms, contacts between people, and the human dimension of the CSCE. To the extent that is necessary, they will consult each other on matters of humanitarian cooperation.

Joint efforts will be made to raise the effectiveness of exchanges and cooperation in the area of science, education, and culture. Sporting links will continue to play a special role.

Both states will cooperate in research into and the utilization of space for peaceful purposes.

They will also cooperate in the peaceful utilization of atomic energy.

The two states will develop contacts between judicial authorities and law-enforcement bodies, including in the fight against the illegal narcotics trade and the study of ways of cooperating in the struggle against international terrorism.

Growing exchanges and direct contacts of all kinds, including ties between parliamentarians, scientists, and cultural figures, and increasing contacts among citizens of the two countries, including visits on the basis of family ties, promote the strengthening of trust and mutual understanding between the Soviet and Canadian peoples.

The development of ties between union republics of the USSR and provinces of Canada and between cities will widen the basis of mutual cooperation at various levels of government.

The two states will continue to take measures to improve the working and living conditions of staff of each other's official missions, as well as journalists and the staff of business representations and joint enterprises.

The Soviet Union and Canada are convinced that the goals set out in this document will be attained through joint efforts.

Reportage on Gorbachev-Mulroney Talks

Europe Discussed

LD2111190289 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney met today.

The two leaders agreed that personal contacts between heads of state and government are particularly important now. Much depends on personal contacts in creating the atmosphere of confidence among countries and peoples.

From this viewpoint, the visit of the Canadian prime minister to the Soviet Union is one of the events that is helping change the world situation with an eye to a better future, Gorbachev said.

Mulroney was sincerely interested in events in the Soviet Union, striving to grasp from a Western perspective the importance of the perestroyka phenomenon for the world community, in near and distant future.

Asked by the Canadian prime minister what lies in store for the Soviet federation, Gorbachev expressed the conviction that there are objective conditions for the renewal of the Soviet Union's existence.

There are serious and acute debates during which separatist and extremist ideas are expressed and calls to secede are made. But these are either deliberate speculations on the past or a failure to realise what hardships and dangers lie in store for people if they find themselves beyond the limits of a great country.

They might also be a result of unjustified doubts that the creation of a federal state that differs from the past is really meant.

This is a very sensitive process, bearing on national feelings, and the destiny of the country and, naturally, of perestroyka. Therefore, provocative outside interference in the Soviet Union's internal affairs is intolerable, Gorbachev said.

The realisation of the central issues in restructuring and non-interference in this process were also discussed in connection with the profound changes in Eastern Europe. In the spirit of new thinking, people in the USSR appraise them benevolently and with interest. These changes, in the long run, bring people closer together, promote accord and establish a balance of interests and free choice in international relations. This is a road to a prolonged period of peace.

As regards European events, most importantly, the Helsinki process must be maintained and deepened. We must prevent the destruction of its principles, enrich it with new ideas and advance towards Helsinki-2, towards a common European home, Gorbachev said.

Ties, Reforms Discussed

PM2211120189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report on 21 November meeting between Gorbachev and Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney: "M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With M.B. Mulroney"]

[Text] On 21 November M.S. Gorbachev met Prime Minister Martin Brian Mulroney of Canada. This meeting at the highest level in the conditions of Soviet perestroyka is overdue when compared with similar contacts between the Soviet Union and other countries.

However, the time was not wasted. Opinions were exchanged through other channels and the potential for cooperation continued accumulating all these years. The importance of this meeting in the Kremlin was also underlined by the entire course of present-day development.

Mulroney showed his deep knowledge of and interest in perestroyka and his desire to gain an understanding of

the problems involved in this process. He genuinely desires mutual understanding on major issues of international politics.

The two leaders agreed that personal contacts between the leaders of countries and governments are particularly important now. The formation of an atmosphere of trust between countries and peoples depends on such contacts.

From this viewpoint, Gorbachev said, The Canadian prime minister's visit to the Soviet Union is one of the events that is helping change the world situation with an eye to a better future.

Any deep changes and even more so those in key regions of the world, he pointed out, are accompanied by instability and difficulties. This is only natural. The most dangerous thing at such moments is that someone may become tempted to use them for their own selfish interests.

Gorbachev appreciated Mulroney's speech yesterday at a government reception. It illustrated the similarity of the philosophical and political approaches taken by the leadership of the two countries to world affairs and to the tasks that have arisen before the international community.

An understanding of the role of Soviet-Canadian interaction and cooperation manifested itself in the large number of important agreements and other documents signed by the two governments on these days. In addition, the Canadian prime minister is accompanied by more than two hundred businessmen who are prepared for specific joint work with Soviet partners.

The Soviet-Canadian declaration, bearing the signatures of the two leaders, politically seals the achieved level of cooperation. In content the declaration is a document of international importance adequate to this crucial stage in world development.

Mulroney was genuinely interested in the details of everything taking place in the Soviet Union. He sought ways to find out for himself, and from the Western perspective in general, the importance of the phenomenon of perestroyka for the destiny of the international community in the near and distant future.

Gorbachev spoke frankly about the complex problems being tackled in the economic, political, and cultural spheres. He spoke particularly about reshaping a public consciousness that is agonizingly overcoming habits and stereotypes that have been taking root for decades.

A generalized conclusion drawn from what has happened during these years is that the country will never turn backwards any longer. It has come to realize the need for radical changes and will change. In terms of the irreversibility of the process, the task has already been accomplished, although lots of difficulties and every kind of problem lies ahead.

In answer to Mulroney's question about the future of the Soviet federation, Gorbachev voiced the conviction that a renewal of this form of the Soviet Union's existence was brought forth by objective conditions. Serious and keen discussions are under way. Both separatist and extremist ideas and calls for secession from the USSR are being mixed into them.

However, those are either deliberate speculations about the past, the lack of understanding about what misfortunes and dangers would lie in the path of peoples if they found themselves outside a great country, or the result of unwarranted doubts that the matter really concerns the establishment of a federative state in which we have not yet lived so far.

This is a very delicate process involving ethnic sentiments, the destiny of the country, and, naturally, the future of our entire perestroyka. Therefore, any provocative interference from outside in this purely internal affairs of ours is utterly intolerable.

The problems of understanding the essence of the processes and non-interference in them were also discussed in connection with deep changes taking place in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union regards them in the spirit of new thinking, with interest, and is well-disposed to them. After all they bring the peoples closer together, promote accord, and assert an atmosphere of the balance of interests and free choice in international relations. This is the way to a lasting peaceful period.

Gorbachev spoke of the diversity of the forms of development of any social system as a natural and objective law. To build a society according to one model, even if this is a one-type social system, is, as experience has shown, a dangerous path leading to an impasse. Every society should ripen for radical changes and every people determines itself what it needs and where and how it should go. And this should be respected. Otherwise there will be no sound international relations.

As for the external environment of what is taking place in Europe, the most important thing is that the Helsinki process should be preserved and deepened, Gorbachev emphasized. A disruption of its principles should be prevented and it should be enriched with new ideas and move towards Helsinki-2 and in the direction of a common European home.

The existing political and military-political institutions can and must operate within the framework of the Helsinki process. One should look for mutual understanding and readjust according to the challenges of our time, promoting headway towards a new Europe.

To speed up events is tantamount to attempting to feed Europeans with unripe fruit and poison everyone. Realities cannot be rushed. The East and West should go through adaptation and not leap over stages. This threatens them with chaos. Besides, Gorbachev said, it

would not be bad for the West to moderate its presumption and give up the idea that only the socialist world should change. Otherwise there would be no drawing closer together.

Prospects and possibilities for integrating the socialist economy into the present-day world economic system were discussed in principle. In this connection Mulroney touched upon the problem of Western "aid".

We are ready for open, intensive and most diverse economic exchanges and appropriate interdependence—with one principled restriction ruling out attempts at using this for political purposes or influencing the political decisions of sovereign countries, Gorbachev emphasized.

Arctic problems were discussed both from the viewpoint of security and military detente in the light of the Murmansk initiatives and from the viewpoint of ecology. The two leaders agreed that the Foreign Ministries should arrange consultations on the entire spectrum of these problems.

Gorbachev reaffirmed a positive attitude to the idea of "open sky" as one of ways to build confidence. In connection with the forthcoming conference in Canada on this subject, everything must be well-prepared, he said.

Many other topical matters were also touched upon during the long and detailed friendly conversation.

In conclusion, Gorbachev expressed satisfaction that in the person of the prime minister of Canada he found an interlocutor who is well aware of the importance of the great changes taking place now and who is ready to view the problems within the context of the current crucial period. We value good and productive relations with Canada, he added.

E.A. Shevardnadze, J. Clark, Dzh. [initial as published] Taylor, and A.S. Chernyayev took part.

M.S. Gorbachev and R.M. Gorbacheva gave a luncheon in honor of M.B. Mulroney and Mila Muroney.

Mulroney Addresses News Conference

LD2111222289 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney assessed his visit to the Soviet Union as highly satisfactory.

At a news conference here today he spoke about the impressions from the first two days of his stay in the Soviet Union and negotiations and meetings with Soviet leaders.

Mulroney noted that there exist now great opportunities for the development of bilateral cooperation. Among the most promising areas he named environmental protection, solution of problems of the Arctic, development of business contacts.

The prime minister said that numerous agreements related to economic cooperation between the two countries have already been concluded during the visit or are being drafted.

This applies to direct investments and the creation of joint ventures.

Mulroney believes that all this indicates the interest of the Canadian private sector in tapping new opportunities opening in the sphere of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Mulroney declared himself in support of reforms in the Soviet economy. He expressed the confidence that with the passage of time the USSR will be fully integrated in the international payments system—the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, GATT and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, however it will take much time.

Regarding restrictions on trade with the USSR, existing in the West, above all in the Cocom framework, Mulroney said that these restrictions will ease with time.

Mulroney emphasised the importance of the Soviet-Canadian political declaration signed today. He appraised as remarkable steps the actions of the Soviet leadership aimed at the democratisation of Soviet society, the consolidation of personal freedoms of citizens and of the market elements of the economy, the Soviet Union's foreign policy actions in the area of disarmament and ensurance of a more secure peace. The Canadian prime minister supported all these measures and expressed the hope that they will be successful.

Gorbachev Comments on Talks

LD2111234189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 89

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Martin Brian Mulroney signed a Soviet-Canadian political declaration. This solemn ceremony, the culminating moment of the official visit to the USSR by the head of the Canadian Government, took place in Vladimir Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace. It was attended on the Soviet side by Comrades Ryzhkov, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, and other officials, and on the Canadian side by Joseph Clark and the officials accompanying the prime minister.

After signing the document, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Martin Brian Mulroney answered journalists' questions. The leaders of the two countries said, in part:

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] I think the world is moving in a good direction, and since that is so, I think

this direction in international relations—I mean Soviet-Canadian relations—will keep improving, (?swaying), and their nature will change. But I regard the present visit by Mr Mulroney as an event that marks the start of a new departure in our relations, and I value it very highly.

I thank you for the invitation. Thank you for that. I accept it with great satisfaction. There is the wish, but there is a shortage. We have many shortages, and the greatest is the shortage of time. Nevertheless, we have agreed that it will be in the nearest time.

[Mulroney in English, with superimposed Russian translation] During our meeting President Gorbachev stressed that personal contacts and mutual relations were vitally necessary for good, lasting bilateral relations. I think our bilateral relations can be considerably better than in the past.

[Gorbachev] I want to respond to the remark made by Mr Mulroney in which he speaks about the importance of personal contacts. That is certainly what I think. But, I also want to say personally that this position of mine, my view, is based on the fact that I attach great importance to the fact in connection with the point that profound changes are occurring in the world, and I am sure that the time of the individual has come. I pointed out in today's conversation all those qualities that I value very much and which seem to me (?to contribute to) political development so as to understand the world of today and, on the basis of a correct understanding, to arange (?meetings). So I welcome (?all such sumnit meetings). [end recording]

Gorbachev Calls Visit 'Landmark'

LD2111202889 Moscow TASS in English 2008 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev described his meeting with Brian Mulroney as a landmark in Soviet-Canadian relations.

The Soviet leader greatly appreciated the results of the talks in answer to journalists' questions today following the signing of a Soviet-Canadian political declaration.

He said that he with great satisfaction accepted an invitation extended by the Canadian side and would pay an official visit to Canada soon.

In the declaration, which has become the main result of the Canadian prime minister's visit to Moscow, the two countries supported the policy of bringing countries closer together.

Apart from matters concerning bilateral relations, the declaration covers a number of world problems, specifically a cut in Soviet and American strategic offensive arms, measures to build confidence and security in Europe, and a curb on nuclear tests.

Gorbachev Says Relations 'Good'

LD2111132689 Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpt] In Moscow there has been a meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and the Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit. The Soviet leader said at a news conference after the meeting that relations between the two countries were good but that there was a space for improvement. Brian Mulroney invited Mikhail Gorbachev to visit Canada and speak in the Canadian Parliament. [passage omitted]

Ryzhkov Attends Bolshoi Ballet With Mulroney

LD2111203689 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his wife went to see a Bolshoi ballet performance today. They were joined in the central box decorated with the state flags of the Soviet Union and Canada by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and his wife.

Before the performance the state anthems of the two countries were played.

The ballet performance included choreographical miniatures and scenes from "Coppelia" by Leo Delibe, danced by students of the Moscow School of Ballet Dancing.

The Moscow choreographical school is the leader of the country's 19 ballet schools. It was founded in 1773 to train dancers and ballerinas for the Bolshoi, the Moscow Musical Theatre, the Moscow Ballet House and others.

The school graduates include Maya Plisetskaya, Ekaterina Maksimova, Natalya Bessmertnova, Alla Mikhalchenko, Nikolay Fadeyechev, Vladimir Vasiliyev, Mikhail Lavrovskiy and Irek Mukhamedov.

The school's present director Sofia Golovkina is a graduate of this school, too.

Shevardnadze Meets With Canada's Clark

World Affairs Discussed

LD2211160189 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—Today Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze continued talks with the Canadian Foreign Minister Joseph Clark who accompanies Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

The ministers noted the importance for Soviet-Canadian relations of the joint political declaration signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Brian Mulroney on November 21.

The declaration lays down the basis for the further development of relations between the two countries.

The ministers held a specific and businesslike discussion of international problems, such as the present situation with regard to a Middle East settlement, including the Lebanon problem, and settlements around Cambodia and Afghanistan.

The two examined in sufficient detail some key aspects of the present situation in the Asia-Pacific region. They stated mutual readiness to seek just solutions to the continuing conflict situations, taking into account the interests of all the parties involved.

Shevardnadze presented the Soviet side's approaches to such solutions and stressed that the new thinking in world affairs, gathering momentum of late, reveals practical opportunities for the settlement of problems, including such intractable ones as the Middle East.

For his part, Joseph Clark described the Canadian stands which in some cases are close to, or consonant with, Soviet approaches. The ministers agreed to continue and intensify the dialogue on world problems at all levels.

Among other things, they agreed to hold another round of opinion exchanges on regional questions at the level of experts and at the level of ministers in February 1990.

Shevardnadze and Clark gave much attention to the development and deepening of the two countries' cooperation on matters of the Arctic which, as the Soviet minister emphasized, must eventually become a zone of peace, confidence and reduced military activity.

The two continued their conversation on the European problems taking into account the major changes underway on the continent.

They also subjected to detailed scrutiny the key aspects of bilateral cooperation in different fields, as well as some humanitarian questions of interest to either of the sides.

Shevardnadze and Clark found useful the discussions held and said they favour improving the mechanism and broadening the scope of the bilateral political dialogue.

They agreed to meet on a regular basis and to exchange messages on the whole range of issues of the Soviet-Canadian agenda and world situation.

Ties, Central America Discussed

LD2111175189 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Canadian counterpart Joseph Clark met at the Soviet Foreign Ministry today. Clark is accompanying Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on his official visit to the Soviet Union.

Having pointed out the immense importance of a Soviet-Canadian dialogue at the highest level, the sides emphasised that it opens up fundamentally new horizons for Soviet-Canadian cooperation both in the sphere of bilateral relations and from the viewpoint of coordinating the two countries' approaches to key issues of world politics.

This applies primarily to the removal of global threats to the survival of mankind, to the solution of transnational problems, to the strengthening of international and regional stability and to the transfer of East-West relations to a path of nonconfrontational development.

The two ministers had a detailed talk on a wide range of international problems, focusing their attention on matters aimed at settling regional conflicts.

They noted that the situation had changed for the better in this field in recent years. This change was greatly aided by the overall improvement of the international situation and the abandonment of old stereotypes and over-ideologised regional problems.

The two sides agreed to continue Soviet-Canadian cooperation, including that in utilising the UN potential with a view to helping the processes of regional settlement and national reconciliation. It was agreed in particular to hold special consultations on matters concerning Central America and southern Africa.

In this connection the Soviet side emphasised its genuine interest in the successful development of the peace process in Central America.

The Soviet Union is known to have suspended the supply of its weapons to the Sandinista government pending the outcome of Nicaraguan elections.

The USSR maintains permanent contact with Managua. Nicaragua honestly meets its commitments and, in an atmosphere of unprecedented openness and under a large-scale international supervision, is preparing genuinely free elections in the country.

However, the international community also has a right to call to account other parties to the Central American settlement, the United States in particular.

They need to explain how they are fulfilling their promises to observe accords reached by Central Americans themselves.

It is time Washington launched a direct dialogue, without any preconditions, with Managua and Havana.

In answer to questions about Soviet military deliveries to Cuba, Shevardnadze emphasised that the deliveries are carried out under earlier commitments and pose no "offensive" threat to neighbouring countries.

Matters concerning the key issue of security were discussed in detail.

The Soviet side praised Canada's contribution to the development of a mechanism for control over military activity and arms limitation and reduction, including Ottawa's proposal to hold a conference on "the open sky."

New Soviet ideas in this field, including applying the idea of "openness" to the land, sea and outer space, were set out.

It was agreed to devote special attention to the implementation of Soviet-Canadian experience to the monitoring of non-orbiting of weapons.

The two ministers, proceeding from geographic position of the Soviet Union and Canada, singled out the importance of the Arctic aspect of the disarmament issue.

The attention of the Canadian side was drawn to new proposals, put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to Finland in development of the Murmansk initiatives, to lower the level of military confrontation, to build confidence and to stimulate cooperation in the Arctic and northern Europe.

The two ministers noted with satisfaction the substantive nature and dynamic development of bilateral Soviet-Canadian relations.

They achieved degree of accord in this field, and the productiveness of the talks make it possible to accelerate movement towards a new quality in the two countries' relations.

The ministers shared the opinion that the package of agreements signed during the visit substantially broadens the scope of bilateral cooperation and places it on a solid politico-legal foundation.

This applies to new opportunities to use the rich potential of Soviet-Canadian economic cooperation.

An understanding was reached on the need to hold regular consultations to monitor the implementation of the agreements signed during the visit.

The two foreign ministers recognised their discussion as a useful precedent that should be continued.

Correction to Cheney Budget Initiative

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Secretary Cheney's Budget Initiative Hailed," published in the 21 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 10-11:

Page 10, column two, paragraph four, sentence three reads: ...B-52 bombers, and Minuteman-2 intercontinental missiles. (substituting "Minuteman" for "Midgetman")

China

PRC's Heilongjiang Delegation Visits Khabarovsk

OW2011042089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] A delegation from the Heilongjiang Provincial People's Government, led by Governor Shao Qihui, is visiting Khabarovsk City at the invitation of Vinogradov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. Khabarovsk is the first stop for the delegation in the Soviet Far East during its visit. The delegation will hold the first of several talks with its Soviet counterparts there.

Danilyuk, chairman of the Khabarovsk Kray Soviet Executive Committee, has pointed out the rapid development of economic and cultural relations between Khabarovsk and China, including Heilongjiang Province. The trade volume since last year has reached 80 billion Swiss francs. Problems of transport and raw materials have been solved. A direct air link between Khabarovsk and Harbin has been established, and a river transport service leading to Jiamusi has been inaugurated. A ferry service between Leninskoye and Tongjiang is being planned. Since last year, about 200 Soviet delegations have visited Heilongjiang Province and signed 40 contracts. The (Hexi) Hotel in Harbin, a joint venture, has been opened and very successfully run. A joint project in growing vegetables has yielded some results. Many Chinese workers are working in Khabarovsk Kray.

During a meeting with the Heilongjiang delegation, Danilyuk paid close attention to solving the problems for which the conditions for a solution are ripe. Of those problems, the first is the transport problem. Because of the inadequacy in rail transport, he said that attention should be paid to river and highway transport. Initial success has been achieved in using the Amur River and the Songhua Jiang for cargo transport. Since there is still potential in using these rivers, a great deal of work remains to be done by both sides to improve river transport.

During the meeting, the two sides discussed the important issue of restoring [word indistinct] after setting up joint fish breeding farms and regulating fishing operations on the Wusuli River.

In his speech at the meeting, Shao Qihui, head of the Chinese delegation, thanked the Soviet side for the hospitality accorded the delegation. He also pointed out the urgency of solving those problems. He put forward a series of policy measures for the solution of problems.

The Chinese delegation visited places of historic interest and scenic beauty in Khabarovsk City. It will hold talks in Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Blagoveshchensk and Vladivostok.

Visit, Meetings in RSFSR Noted

PM2111121189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "USSR-PRC: Ties Are Expanding"]

[Text] On 17 November V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, received Shao

Qihui, governor of the people's government of Heilongjiang Province (PRC), who is in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

V.I. Vorotnikov warmly welcomed the guest from the PRC and in a friendly talk informed him of the present stage of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, the political transformations which are being carried out in the country, the progress of reforms in the economic and other fields, and the development of the processes of democratization. Shao Qihui noted that the tour of the country had made it possible to familiarize himself more closely with Russia and to see the changes taking place in Soviet society. He expressed the hope that the visit will serve to develop relations between Heilongjiang Province and the RSFSR as an important element of Soviet-Chinese cooperation.

The talk took place in a constructive atmosphere.

On the same day Shao Qihui had a business meeting at the RSFSR Council of Ministers. There was a detailed examination of the state and prospects for the further development of mutually advantageous cooperation in the field of the economy, trade, culture, science, and technology between ministries, departments, krays, oblasts, and enterprises of the RSFSR and partners in Heilongjiang Province.

Both sides voiced their readiness to lead bilateral relations on promising avenues to a qualitatively new level and to give them an effective nature through the establishment of directive sharing relations, the creation of joint ventures and production facilities in various economic spheres, the exchange of progressive experience and technology, and the development of border relations.

The Chinese guest stressed the presence of an enormous potential for further expanding steady trade and economic, scientific and technical, and cultural relations between the RSFSR and Heilongjiang Province which will undoubtedly have a positive effect on the entire complex of bilateral Soviet-Chinese relations.

Taking part in the talk were F.A. Tabeyev, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Minister; A.A. Khomyakov, chairman of the RSFSR State Planning Committee; RSFSR minister L.V. Bagrov, A.A. Biryukov, V.M. Vinogradov, and Yu.S. Sukhin; and also Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR.

On the same day Shao Qihui visited the V.I. Lenin's Kremlin office and "apartment" museum and the Moscow M.V. Lomonosov state university.

RSFSR Culture Minister on PRC Visit

OW2211043889 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 14 Nov 89

["Remarks" by Yuriy Serafimovich Melentyev, minister of culture of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, during an interview with an unidentified station reporter; place, date not given—from the "Taking the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] The following are remarks made by Melentyev, minister of culture of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], who visited the PRC recently at the invitation of the people's governments of Liaoning and Jilin Provinces. In an interview with this station's reporter, he discussed the purpose of the visit.

[Begin Melentyev recording in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] The RSFSR has established close ties with China's northeastern provinces. The sides have held negotiations on cooperation matters and have exchanged delegations. We received representatives of cultural workers from the PRC not long ago, and then paid a return visit to that country. The purpose of our visit was to examine the possibility of furthering the RSFSR's direct cooperation with the PRC's northeastern provinces in the fields of culture and art. Among the members of the Soviet delegation were (Svytanikov), a Soviet people's performer, and (Smalevskiy), a member of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

We visited Beijing, Dalian, Anshan, Changchun, and Shenyang and toured scenic spots and historical sites in these cities. But, as I have said, the main purpose of the visit was to hold talks on cooperation. As a result of these talks, we signed two protocols on the development of cultural relations between the RSFSR and Liaoning and between the RSFSR and Jilin. We reached agreement with the leadership of Liaoning Province on the exchange of musical groups and soloists, who will travel to various places to give performances. We also will exchange art and book exhibitions with Liaoning Province and cooperate in developing libraries and museums.

We also agreed on the visit by a delegation from Liaoning Province, which will arrive in Moscow in late November or early December this year to hold talks to draw up a concrete cultural exchange plan for 1990 and 1991. The cooperative protocal signed with the leadership of Jilin Province sets forth the principle of cultural exchanges on an equal basis. We also reached some concrete agreements. For instance, according to a suggestion by the Chinese side, a song and dance ensemble, a traditional music orchestra, and an opera troupe will come from Jilin Province to give performances in the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, Soviet art troupes and soloists will give performances in Jilin Province from 1990 to 1992. They will include the song and dance troupe of the Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the Russian Folk Song and Dance Ensemble, and the Russian Folk Music Instruments Orchestra, whose members include soloist (Svytanikov).

I should point out that (Svytanikov) gave a number of performances in various Chinese cities during our recent visit to China. [end recording]

RSFSR To Cooperate With PRC Provinces

OW2211043689 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 14 Nov 89

[From "World Today" program]

[Text] Vinogradov, foreign minister of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], disclosed that he has visited Heilongjiang, Liaoning, and Jilin and, together with the representatives of the local governments there, drafted a cooperative agreement between the RSFSR and these three provinces.

Vinogradov said: It is quite feasible for the three provinces in northeastern China to cooperate with us. We have encountered certain difficulites in carrying out our Far East development program, such as the lack of labor and the long distance between our Far East part and our industrial centers. However, China's northeastern provinces are separated from us only by the Amur River. These provinces are seeking a market for their products and need raw and other materials, which are readily available in our Far Eastern part. Cooperation conducted on a mutually beneficial basis between the RSFSR and China's northeastern provinces will be in the interest of both countries.

RSFSR Foreign Minister Vinogradov pointed out: We should not procrastinate with regard to the establishment of trade and economic ties. The Soviet Far East and the PRC's northeastern provinces are proceeding actively with direct contacts at the present time. The Chinese side has suggested that both sides cooperate in the production of television sets, fax equipment, computers, and other products. A joint venture making refrigerators already has begun production in (?Omsk).

Moscow Conference Commemorates CPC Founder

PM2111141989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A scientific conference devoted to the centennial of the birth of Li Dazhao, active participant in the revolutionary movement in China, ardent propagandist of the ideas of Marxism, and one of the founders of the CPC, was held in Moscow at the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Institute 14-15 November. Chinese social scientists took part in the conference. The opening ceremony was attended by Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR.

Northeast Asia

Reportage on Yakovlev, Delegation Visit to Japan

PRAVDA on 15 Nov Activities

PM2011163189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation Visit Continues"]

[Text] Tokyo, 15 Nov—USSR People's Deputy A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on International Policy Questions, and head of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation which is paying an official visit to Japan at the invitation of the Japanese parliament, had meetings today with representatives of the Japanese Communist Party and Socialist Party [JSP].

T. Doi, chairwoman of the JSP Central Executive Committee, spoke among other things about the great impression gained from her meeting with M.S. Gorbachev and the attention with which many people in Japan are following the development of the positive dialogue which has begun in the world. Emphasis was laid on the significance of this process and of the relaxation of tension in other areas of international relations for the situation in the Asia and Pacific region. There was a broad exchange of opinions on questions of Soviet-Japanese relations and the crucial problems of the situation in the world, especially in Asia and the Pacific where our countries are neighbors.

On the same day A.N. Yakovlev had a meeting with former Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone.

In the afternoon the Soviet parliamentarians met with the leadership of the Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren), the leaders of the Japanese business community. There was a keen discussion on the state and prospects of Soviet-Japanese trade and economic cooperation. The guests and their hosts discussed the problems in this sphere and noted the existence of considerable potential. It was pointed out that the two sides must make serious coordinated efforts to achieve the progress that they desire in this area.

N.N. Solovyev, USSR ambassador to Japan, was present at the meetings.

Each day of the Soviet legislators' stay in Japan should help both the expansion of bilateral ties and the new Soviet parliament itself. That is the view of the delegation members, who had individual meetings today.

A broad range of questions—from the general structure and fundamental principles of the activity of the supreme legislative organs of Japan and the USSR to deputies' pay—was discussed during the conversation which Yu.V. Golik and O.O. Suleymenov, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of

Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, had with representatives of the legal commission of the Japanese parliament's House of Representatives. The latter's leaders talked about the processes of establishing and developing Japan's institutions of power. The Soviet legislators told their Japanese colleagues about the tasks being resolved by the present USSR Supreme Soviet.

Yu.V. Golik also met with leaders of the Japanese-Soviet law society. He talked about the profound changes in the USSR's legal system on the principles of the democratization and humanization of society's life. The Japanese side expressed the belief that such meetings help to strengthen ties between the two countries' lawyers.

Problems of developing the communications network in parts of Siberia and the Soviet Far East were broached at a meeting between Yu.V. Gulyayev, chairman of the communications and information science subcommission of the Soviet of the Union Commission for Transport, Communications, and Information Science Questions, and members of the communications commission of the Japanese parliament's House of Councillors. Radio telephone communications, which have become widespread in Japan, and satellite communications could be the main means of communications in those regions. Japan could also join in mutually beneficial cooperation with the USSR in this sphere, in which the United States, the FRG, and Britain are already showing interest.

Specific questions relating to the work of local organs of power, the formation of their budgets, taxation, and mutual relations with the central administration were discussed at meetings between V.Ya. Stadnik, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management, and representatives of the local self-management organs commissions of both houses of the Japanese parliament. It was noted that there is a coincidence of views on the need to broaden the independence of local organs of power.

V.A. Tikhonov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Economic Reform Questions, was received today by leaders of the Japanese association of small and medium businessmen, which is attached to Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry. During the meeting the opinion was expressed that a highly developed industry cannot be created if it is oriented exclusively toward large corporations. An example of that is provided by Japan in whose economy small companies and firms are traditionally of tremendous significance. The sides agreed to exchange information which would make it possible in the future for full-scale cooperation to begin between the two countries' medium and small enterprises.

Delegates' Meetings

PM2111095189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet Parliamentarians in Japan"]

[Excerpts] Tokyo, 15 Nov—A.N. Yakovlev, USSR people's deputy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Questions of International Policy, who is heading a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation in Japan on an official visit, had meetings here on Tuesday. [passage omitted]

The individual programs of members of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation are also extremely full. On Tuesday they had meetings with members of Japanese parliamentary commissions and representatives of the government, local authorities, and business circles.

Yu.V. Golik and O.O. Suleymenov, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, visited the legal commission of the Japanese House of Councillors. Its chairman, A. Kuroyanagi [name as published], told them about the procedure for getting draft laws through parliament, the work of the parliamentary commissions, and the involvement of deputies from various political parties in their work. The Soviet parliamentarians acquainted their Japanese colleagues with the structure of the new, highest legislative body in the Soviet Union and with the tasks it is currently tackling. The desire for regular parliamentary ties between the two countries was expressed.

Questions relating to economic management methods, the financing of research, and the provision of information for society were discussed at meetings between Yu.V. Gulyayev, chairman of the subcommission on communications and information science of the Soviet of the Union Commission on Questions of Transport, Communications, and Information Science, with members of the House of Representatives commission on questions of communications and also both Japanese parliamentary chambers' commissions on science and technology. The sides expressed the mutual desire to develop cooperation, which is being helped by the restructuring policy in the Soviet Union and the trend toward improvement in bilateral relations.

USSR People's Deputy V.I. Boldin visited a meat combine of the "Ito Khamu" [name as published] Company in Chiba Prefecture; the modern technology used at this combine makes it possible to discontinue the use of what are, ecologically speaking, the dirtiest units. Representatives of the company's leadership said that this was the first time a Soviet legislator had been received at the firm, which does not as yet have business contacts with Soviet enterprises. However, this could now become a possibility. For his part, the deputy stressed that good prospects are now opening up for the development of trade and economic ties between the two countries.

The municipal administration of Minato, one of the central districts of Tokyo, was visited by V.Ya. Stadnik, member of the Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and the Development of Management and Self-Management. He was acquainted with the structure and organization of work of the district administration. There was a lively exchange of opinions on questions concerning the electoral system in the Soviet Union and Japan, the financing of local bodies of authority's budgets, and their role in resolving ecological problems.

O.O. Suleymenov had a meeting with Kh. Kudziraoka [name as published], deputy chairman of the parliamentary association for the promotion of disarmament and House of Representatives deputy from the Liberal Democratic Party. The question of parliamentarians' role in the struggle for a nuclear-free world was touched on during their conversation. The USSR people's deputy talked about the "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" antinuclear movement, of which he is chairman.

There was a detailed discussion about peasants' cooperatives in the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries, which was visited by V.A. Tikhonov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Economic Reform. The Japanese representatives talked about the activity of the numerous agricultural cooperative unions in their country, which unite more than 4 million individual farms and play an important role in protecting peasants' interests. They showed great interest in the discussions developing in the Soviet Union on the question of drafting new land legislation.

Yakovlev Tour of Matsushita Complex

LD1811042989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Nov 89

[From "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent V. Tsvetov]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, headed by Comrade Yakovlev, is continuing its stay in Japan.

[V. Tsvetov] Today the delegation visited the Matsushita electrotechnical company. Its products are known to us by the brand names National and Panasonic. Addressing leaders of Japanese business circles 2 days ago, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev said that only world standards could be bearings for the technical and structural policy in the USSR. The production of the company corresponds to such standards. This is why the delegation came here. And this production line contains 14,000 items, from batteries to industrial computers. Thirteen thousand people engage in research work. Annually 1.5 billion dollars are allocated for their activity. The company leads scientific-technical progress in world electronics. Comrade Yakovlev told Japanese businessmen that the former stereotype of the USSR as a country with state-run trade which segregated us in the world economy is receding into the past. It seems that people at the Matsushita company have already begun to get rid of this stereotype. The company has set up a representative office in Moscow. A large group of mid-level Soviet economic managers are undergoing practical training at the company's works. [video shows Yakovlev and other delegation members examining equipment at a factory]

What has the delegation taken away with it after visiting the company?

[Yu.v. Gulyayev, member of Soviet of the Union Commission ond Issues of Transport Communications and Information Technology, speaking to Tsvetov in train] The entire point is the correct organization of production and a correct correlation between science and production whereby industrial firms are independent, where there is not one of them but several, where they live in conditions of competition. In order to survive and in order to make products which will find a broad market and which will first and foremost satisfy consumers, they have to catch onto any innovations and the most contemporary methods. We see this here in the example of Matsushita.

Yakovlev 18 Nov Speech

PM2211120989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Ends"]

[Text] Tokyo, 17 Nov—A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by USSR people's deputy A.N. Yakovlev, Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Commission for International Political Affairs, which is on an official visit to Japan, today continued its visit to one of Japan's major trade and industry and cultural centers—the district of Kansai.

The members of the Soviet parliamentary delegation visited the "Matsushita Denki" electrical equipment company, whose products are well known practically the world over. The Soviet deputies showed an interest in domestic and industrial electronic goods produced by the company and talked with its specialists.

That evening, after the delegation returned to Tokyo, a dinner was arranged in its honor on behalf of Japanese Foreign Minister T. Nakayama and the chairman of the procedural commissions of both houses of the Japanese parliament.

USSR Ambassador to Japan N.N. Solovyev was with the delegation.

On 18 November the delegation met with representatives of political and business circles and members of the Japanese public. S. Shiga, state minister and chief of the Environmental Agency; T. Yamaguchi, general secretary of the Japan Socialist Party Central Executive Committee; and USSR Ambassador to Japan N.N. Solovyev were among those present.

The speakers at the meeting, I. Sasakawa, chairman of the board of the Japanese Shipbuilding Industry Foundation, and I. Kobayashi, chairman of the Japanese association of newspaper editors and publishers and president of the country's biggest newspaper, YOMIURI, urged the deepening of mutual understanding between the two countries and the broadening of Japanese-Soviet links in various spheres.

Prominent Japanese businessman R. Sasakawa, president of the Sasakawa Health Promotion Foundation, presented 1 million disposable syringes to the Soviet people as a gift. A.N. Yakovlev expressed thanks for this humanitarian act.

Addressing the gathering, the head of the Soviet parliamentary delegation said, in part:

The visit has been by and large opportune, necessary, and useful. Our entire delegation thinks so. No one expected that the visit would eliminate all the issues—this is not what parliamentarians do. But we have definitely made progreess in understanding one another's positions.

In an interdependent and integral world the role of economic cooperation is largely determined by the general climate of interstate relations. We are convinced of the need to develop Soviet-Japanese relations, including economic relations. We are convinced that this is possible, that both sides have considerable reserves in all spheres. We are convinced, too, that if both sides get down to some serious work Soviet-Japanese relations have a big future. But a great deal of work has to be done to achieve it.

When mutual trade accounts for only 1.5-2 percent of the overall volume of USSR and Japanese foreign trade, it is an unnaturally small figure for such countries. It can only mean one thing: The development of economic ties is inhibited by political factors. Does this benefit both politics and the economy?

As far as the economy is concerned, the answer is obvious. As for politics, the wider the range of mutual relations in general, as a whole, the more likely it is that each specific issue in these relations will be put into proper perspective and viewed in the light of all the factors and their relative significance.

We are aware that the difficulties and problems in the way of the development of Soviet-Japanese economic relations are to a large extent associated with the general state of the USSR national economy, in particular with the way our export base is lagging behind, including in the Far East, with the meager range of Soviet export goods, and with the bureaucratization and inefficiency of a number of our organizations.

Well, these are the problems which perestroyka was embarked on to overcome. They are a hindrance to you. They are even more of a hindrance to us. And we are absolutely serious about perestroyka as a whole and its economic and foreign trade aspects in particular.

We want our industry to address consumers' real needs, give it back a taste for competition and a commitment to independence, and confront it with the need to earn a living, provide for its own development, and not be dependent on state subsidies. And we will not relent in this endeavor. There is simply no alternative.

We are also conscious of the difficulties we have as a result of the shortage of trained cadres, of the enormous number of new participants entering the foreign market, and of their lack of proper experience in some cases. But they are temporary difficulties, natural for a transitional period. We will overcome them, although it will take time and effort.

I want to stress that in 1985 our people opted for the historic renewal of the country, a fundamentally new course in domestic and foreign affairs, and perestroyka. For us this policy means, apart from anything else, being open to the world and being willing to seek a balance of interests and respect everyone's right to freedom of choice.

The chief component of this policy is the new philosophy, the new political thinking. And this is an awareness that despite all the contradictions the world is becoming increasingly one, that the development of each country and each people is possible only in collaboration with others.

It is on this platform that we would like to develop relations with Japan. In politics, in international affairs, in strengthening trust and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region. And in the economy, of course. We advocate creating through joint efforts a new, long-term model of Soviet-Japanese relations, in order to be able to start filling it with real practical substance as soon as possible.

Our country is going through a difficult period at the moment. It amounts to a massive and intensive introduction of new things into the economy, politics, and public life, the likes of which probably no other state in history has seen. It is a period of major investment in the future and in domestic life, in the way of life, consciousness, and in contacts with the outside world. It presents new opportunities for cooperation. Let us work together in this sphere.

On the same day the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation left for home. At the capital's Haneda airport the delegation was seen off by H. Okonogi, chairman of the Japanese parliament's House of Representatives procedural commission; D. Iwasaki, deputy chairman of the House of Councillors procedural commission; I. Sakurauti, chairman of the parliamentary association of Japanese-Soviet friendship; parliamentary deputies; and other officials.

It was also seen off by USSR Ambassador to Japan N.N. Solovyev.

PRAVDA Assessment of Visit

PM2111085789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent I. Latyshev dispatch: "Good-Neighborliness Is Matter for Both Sides"]

[Excerpt] Tokyo, 18 Nov—The week that a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation spent in Japan was for the Japanese public a week of daily, comprehensive, and intensive discussion of the contemporary state of Soviet-Japanese relations. In the last 7 days all the country's central newspapers have devoted their lead and editorial articles to these relations. They were discussed on a daily basis in press information reports and commentaries by television observers here.

Japanese political circles and the press did not avoid discussing the so-called "territorial question" this time either. But it is important to note that Japanese politicians and mass media organs directed their main attention not so much to one-sidedly setting out their own demands as to analytically discussing the statements and explanations given in this connection by Soviet delegation head A.N. Yakovlev, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee International Policy Commission, CPSU Central Committee secretary, Politburo member, and USSR people's deputy, during conversations with representatives of the political world here and at a meeting with journalists at the Tokyo press center. Most Japanese commentators reacted attentively and with interest to A.N. Yakovlev's appeal for both sides to stop the futile disputes, stop rehashing their arguments, and take a third path—the path of calm constructive dialogue and developing mutually beneficial bilateral cooperation.

The Supreme Soviet delegation's visit to Japan impelled the Japanese public to regard Soviet-Japanese relations more thoughtfully, soberly, and benevolently than before. Joint discussions by the two countries' parliamentarians revealed the presence of great reserves for the mutually beneficial and fruitful development of Soviet-Japanese relations on the basis of rejection of prejudices and mutual striving for good-neighborliness. This was also confirmed today—the day the delegation left for home.

The last few hours that the delegation spent in Tokyo were utterly saturated with links with representatives of the capital's public. Japanese journalists arrived at the "Imperial" Hotel, where the Soviet delegation was staying, early in the morning, in a rush to get final interviews with the guests. By midday more than 100 prominent Japanese politicians, businessmen, and scientists had gathered at the hotel. It is significant that representatives of the most extreme tendencies in Japan's conservative world were among those who came to the hotel. It is evident that they, too, are displaying readiness today to abandon their unfriendly attitude toward our country and establish constructive dialogue with its emissaries. The unexpected visit which Reiichi Sasakawa, a multimillionaire and honorary chairman of a number of organizations of conservative persuasion, paid to the hotel illustrated this. Expressing his wish during a short conversation with A.N. Yakovlev to establish relations with our country, Sasakawa confirmed this with a kind gesture: He is sending 1 million disposable syringes to the Soviet Union as a personal gift to our country.

Farewell speeches were exchanged in the hotel's assembly hall, where the members of the Supreme Soviet delegation and representatives of the Japanese public gathered before departure. [passage omitted].

Japanese Spokesman on Visit

LD1811044989 Moscow TASS in English 1938 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo November 17 TASS—It is important for both sides to come to the unanimous opinion on the pressing need to establish new Japanese-Soviet relations through improving contacts between the two countries now that the international situation is cardinally changing, Japanese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Taizo Watanabe said at a briefing here today. He spoke about the official visit paid to Japan by a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, led by Soviet People's Deputy, Politburo Member, CPSU Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on International Policy Aleksandr Yakovlev.

Both sides should exert major efforts to develop relations on the basis of balanced interests, the Japanese spokesman believes.

A higher level of confidence between the two countries, promotion of development of business and other contacts and expansion of all-round exchanges would meet the interests of the two countries, he stressed.

Mutual summit visits would largely promote solution of these questions, Watanabe said.

He meanwhile reiterated the Japanese Government's claim of the four Soviet Southern Kurile Ridge Islands.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Shipping Snags Hamper Trade With SRV

PM1611145789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Feature comprising own correspondent M. Domogatskikh Hanoi dispatch and A. Sharyy Moscow report under heading "Weather Was Stormy"]

[Text] [Domogatskikh dispatch]**A Story Which Began in Haiphong...**

In the first 6 months of this year, trade between the Soviet Union and Vietnam amounted to more than R838 million, and specialists believe that it will have risen to R1.8-1.9 billion by the end of the year. It should

be taken into account that the goods imported by our country from Vietnam include tropical farm produce which is no longer grown in any socialist country.

The growing volume of trade and the specific features of Vietnamese exports require the very economical, problem-free allocation of marine refrigerator ships, container carriers, lighter-carriers, and general-purpose ships in order to prevent waste. However, the Soviet trade mission in Hanoi believes that the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet often seems to be guided by directly opposite aims: The irregular, inadequate allocation of general-purpose ships for the transportation of freight from Vietnam has become the norm.

There is nothing unexpected or unforeseen in the organization of freight transportation from Vietnam to the Soviet Union. Representatives of the working group and intergovernmental commissions for transport get together every year to discuss all problems in detail: Volume of freight, container tonnage requirements, and ports of dispatch. But it is usually the case that the problems begin after the relevant documents have been signed, with amendments made to the approved quarterly and monthly arrangements, so that, what is a clean schedule on paper becomes such a blurred picture that it is impossible to restore it to its original form.

Surely this practice is responsible for the fact that 20,000 tonnes of freight have accumulated in Vietnamese ports, including tea and coffee, canned fruit and peanuts, pepper and anise oil, to say nothing of handicrafts and consumer goods such as sewn goods, towels, and footwear?

My suppositions regarding the possible difficulties experienced by the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet were disproved at the Soviet trade mission in Hanoi in the following manner.

As I have already said, the shipping roster is drawn up in advance and needs only be complied with as far as is possible. Changes can be made, of course, but even in these cases some reserve option must be found. But the main point is that, strictly speaking, there is no shortage of ships. Almost five times as much freight is sent from the Soviet Union as from Vietnam. It is not a question of a shortage of ships but of material incentive on the part of the ships crews.

With the backing of the Soviet embassy, the trade mission studied the practice of freight transportation from Vietnam to Soviet ports and reached the conclusion that the crews of the ships serving these routes, who are not paid in hard currency, have no interest in staying in Vietnamese ports and look for any way to pick up freight in ports of other countries as quickly as possible. Seamen personally find it more lucrative to take just three or four crates from Singapore or Jakarta, where they receive per diem expenses in hard currency, than to pick up a full load in Saigon or Haiphong.

Once they have delivered their freight to SRV ports, our ships endeavor to unload as quickly as possible and, if they are lucky, move onto somewhere else very soon. There is nothing to tempt them in Vietnam. This is where the problems arise. For example, there were difficulties in getting 2,000 tonnes of coffee dispatched from the port of Nha Trang where it had been standing there almost 2 months. But, after all, this is a product that is certainly not in abundance in our country.

The same kind of picture is taking shape with the gradual elimination of inexpensive goods at enterprises that have gone over to the economic accountability system. Economic categories interpreted in a narrowly mercenary sense have become a serious problem, not only within the country but also on our sea lanes. However, in the opinion of the trade mission, there is a simple solution to the problem: Place all crews on the same level in material respects and introduce a unified currency tariff system. Such a system could produce economic results for the country and the department totally incomparable with those produced by the sector-wide penny-pinching employed when remunerating seamen's difficult work. Incidentally, the work of ships crews from other socialist countries—not to mention capitalist countries—is remunerated in hard currency regardless of which country's port the ship is travelling to, and this is becoming a barrier in the way of the practice of "gradually eliminating inexpensive goods."

So, 20,000 tonnes of freight are waiting to be sent from Vietnamese ports: 9,000 in Haiphong, 8,000 in Saigon, and the rest in other ports. The Vietnamese side has calculated that it will take 5,800 large-capacity containers to transport this freight to the Soviet Union by the end of the year. But the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet has said that the maximum number to be hoped for is 3,300 containers. So what is going to happen to the rest of the freight?

[Sharyy report] ...

And Still Has Not Ended in Moscow

"It is always easiest to blame the carrier," I was told in the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet. "A contract is not met and immediately the seamen are the ones to blame. And they will try to get out of it anyway: They will say the weather was stormy...."

It seems that not only the trade mission officials have complaints against the seamen. The maritime fleet is making its own complaints—against the trade mission.

"They make a great show of activity there and complain over our heads to the ones 'at the top' without exchanging information with representatives of our ministry in Vietnam," A. Streltsov, chief of the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet department responsible for organizing the transportation of dry cargo overseas, complained. "This is not just the practice of the day, it has evolved over the years: In response to enquiries from the trade mission, our Vietnamese friends say that the

freight is at a certain port, but in fact it is nowhere near. So the ship has to stand and wait for the goods, which are either delivered in dribs and drabs or not delivered at all—then it has to go to other ports.... I don't know why I'm telling you all this—you can see for yourself."

The document sent by the ministry to the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, "On the Transportation of Freight Imported from the SRV," was no less convincing than the arguments put forward by the trade mission, only, strange though it may seem, it simply attested to the reverse: The transportation of freight for import is under control but the real situation with regard to whether freight is ready or not is preventing achievement of the desired result.

"In September this year, the motor ship 'Sidor Kovpak' was left standing in Saigon for 72 hours," A. Streltsov commented on the contents of the document. "Because of the absence of freight, the ship was obliged to leave for other work. But we ourselves are not often to blame for delays with ships leaving."

Evidently the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet and the trade mission have different ways of calculating the quantity of freight if, according to one, there are not enough ships and if we are to give credence to the arguments of the other, namely that there is not enough freight ready for dispatch.

"The 'Vietnamese' problems are no more serious than any others," V. Polyanov, deputy chief of the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet department responsible for coordinating regular shipments, said. "We are now seeing a kind of 'container boom.' The sharp increase in purchases of detergents and other consumer goods has given rise to a shortage of large-capacity containers. I can say for sure that the problem will not be resolved this year. We have compared our real potential against import volumes and established that we are 2,500 containers short for the transportation of Vietnamese freight. And there is nowhere that we can get these containers from."

"So what is to be done?"

"Some of the freight can be dispatched without containers, but as for the rest.... We will look for a solution."

Judging by what I heard in the ministry, there are no problems with the supply of ships. There is a shortage of containers, but this is not just a problem peculiar to Vietnam, so a system of measures which go under the name of "decontainerization" could help to at least partially resolve the conundrum.

Fine. That just leaves the hard currency which the ministry does not pay to the crews of ships moored in SRV ports.

"I also personally believe that they should be paid in hard currency," V. Desyatnikov, engineer responsible for loading at the Black Sea Shipping Company, explained his view. "But, even going back many years, I cannot remember a time when a crew refused to go to Haiphong or Saigon. Working on the basis of its own interests under the economic accountability system, the ship's owner, the shipping company, finds it more profitable to collect freight in Da Nang, say, rather than Singapore, because Vietnamese freight pays more."

"Well, what about the personal interest of the crew members?"

"You know, I also would not mind being paid in dollars. What about you? If a ship is assigned to collect freight in Vietnam, it goes where it has to. We have repeatedly addressed the Ministry of Finance with the proposal to level the labor remuneration terms for all long-haul crews, regardless of their itinerary. But all to no avail—they say there is no hard currency."

... Ivan blames Petr and Petr blames Ivan, with the result that the party to blame for the erratic transportation of freight from Vietnam is the... objective situation. Without playing down the damage done to the country's container economy by the "soap shortage," we will nevertheless draw attention to the fact that two departments with an equal interest in seeing trade with a friendly country go without a hitch are quite unable to find a common language. Stormy weather has set in in their relationship with one another.

But calm, as is well known, is more conducive to successful voyages.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Ethiopia

Meets With Mengistu

LD2011231589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1628 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Addis Ababa, 20 Nov (TASS)—Mengistu Haile Mariam, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE] and general secretary of the Ethiopian Workers' Party Central Committee, today received a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by M.R. Sagdiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is here on an official visit at the invitation of the PDRE National Assembly (Shengo).

During the course of a warm and comradely conversation, the president noted that this first visit by a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation to the PDRE points to the steady strengthening of the traditional friendly relations between the two countries and peoples. Mengistu Haile Mariam emphasized the Ethiopian people's desire to achieve peace within the country and to establish goodneighborly relations with the other countries of the Horn of Africa.

The head of the Soviet delegation conveyed to Mengistu Haile Mariam greetings on behalf of M.S. Gorbachev and cordial wishes for success in tackling the socioeconomic tasks facing Ethiopia, in implementing the peaceful efforts of the PDRE Government aimed at

achieving a political settlement in the country, and strengthening the political and social base of the revolution. He expressed confidence that Soviet-Ethiopian relations will continue to develop successfully for the benefit of the peoples of both countries and in the interests of a reliable, secure peace throughout the world.

The Ethiopian leader was also informed about the changes taking place in the USSR, the reform of the political system of Soviet society, and the deepening of the process of democratization and broadening glasnost.

Ends Visit, Flies to Djibouti

LD2211000889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Addis Ababa, 21 Nov (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, headed by M.R. Sagdiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, today ended its official visit to Ethiopia, which was undertaken at the invitation of that country's National Assembly (Shengo).

During the course of the visit the Soviet parliamentarians were received by Mengistu Haile Mariam, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, general secretary of the Ethiopian Workers' Party Central Committee. Meetings took place in the Ethiopian State Council and the National Central Planning Committee and conversations were held with Shengo deputies. The delegation also paid a visit to the country's eastern provinces.

Before flying from Addis Ababa, the head of the Soviet delegation told journalists that the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies are pleased with the results of the visit. Both sides reaffirmed their readiness to strengthen fruitful contacts at all levels, including interparliamentary ties.

Despite the brief nature of our visit, we could sense the tenseness of the atmosphere because of the continuing armed struggle in the north of Ethiopia, M.R. Sagdiyev noted. We know from our own experience how complex it is to tackle internal conflicts, but we are firmly convinced that political dialogue is the only way to solve them.

Djibouti, 21 Nov (TASS)—The same day the delegation arrived on an official visit to the Djibouti capital at the invitation of that country's National Assembly. It was met at the airport by Abdoukader Waberi Askar, chairman of the Djibouti National Assembly, parliamentary deputies, and V.I. Zhuravlev, USSR ambassador to the Republic of Djibouti.

Ethiopia's Peace Talks With EPLF, TPLF Viewed

EA1711140989 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Aleksandr Mikhaylov commentary from "Africa as We See It" program]

[Text] On 11 November Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received and held discussions with the Ethiopian Ambassador to the Soviet Union Asrat Wolde. Eduard Shevardnadze then stated that the Soviet Union supports respect for Ethiopia's national unity and territorial integrity and stressed the need to continue efforts to implement in practice the peace initiative adopted by the Ethiopian National Shengo to resolve the peace problem politically and to achieve a negotiated settlement of the internal strife in the country.

Our commentator Aleksandr Mikhaylov has filed the following commentary on the issue: Man is born to live in peace. Although he is sometimes obliged to take up the sword, he wishes to put it down as soon as possible. Seen from this point of view, the unity observed in last June's meeting of the Ethiopian Shengo is undoubtedly sincere because they voted for an initiative that will reconcile all parties involved in the long-running fratricidal war in the country. Therefore, it is hard to believe the news spread by some quarters portraying the people of Eritrea and Tigray as warmongers. The Eritrean and Tigrayan people know more about war than any one else. In any case, it is clear to them and the rest of the Ethiopian people that peace is useful to mankind.

However, the situation in the country, since last June, has become rather exacerbated. The weyane [Tigray People's Liberation Front, TPLF] activities have endangered the unity and territorial integrity of the country. On 10 November it was disclosed that a campaign coordination center had been formed and a call for mobilization made. When trying to explain why this happened, observers give two main reasons: first, on some key issues the government and the opposition groups hold opposing stands and the situation was aggravated because the conflicting parties wanted to confirm their positions militarily before going to the peace talks. Second, the other opposition groups were unhappy with the Ethiopian Government's decision to hold talks with the main opposition faction, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF]. Under these circumstances, the TPLF rose to prove its might and this intensified the conflict more than ever before. Our observer believes that all the conflicting parties should now closely study the events that took place after the June National Shengo meeting.

The first round of talks between the Ethiopian Government and TPLF delegates in Rome ended on 9 November. According to the Italian Foreign Ministry, which actively coordinated the talks, although some problems cropped up during the discussions, they were carried out with clarity and constructively. The two parties examined the (?agenda) and procedural matters to be discussed on 12 December at which time ways and means of resolving the problem in the northern part of the country will be discussed.

Soon the first peace talks between the Ethiopian Government and EPLF are expected to begin. Therefore, the peace initiative proposed by the Ethiopian National

Shengo last June is still (?in operation). Now people are discussing the idea of a referendum on one issue. If the question of peace or war were put to a vote, the whole people would unequivocally vote for peace. All those responsible for the destiny of the Ethiopian peoples should not forget this, our observer said in conclusion.

Peace Seen as 'Difficult Quest'

PM1511111989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent G. Ustinov dispatch: "Difficult Quest for Peace"]

[Text] Addis Ababa—News agencies have announced that talks have ended in Rome between an Ethiopian Government delegation and representatives of the Tigray People's Liberation Front [TPLF]. They had been underway since 4 November with the mediation of the Italian foreign minister.

The talks in Rome took place in a businesslike and constructive spirit, the agencies note. However, they were of a preliminary nature, since it was mainly procedural questions that were under discussion. The main result of the meeting was the fact that the sides reached agreement on new full-scale talks. They will begin there with the same mediator 12 December.

Meanwhile the negotiating process between the Ethiopian Government and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF], which began this September in the U.S. city of Atlanta with the mediation of former U.S. President J. Carter, will resume 20 November in Nairobi.

The talks with the two largest opposition groupings are being held separately since the EPLF and the TPLF hold different positions. The Eritreans have been striving for 28 years to secure their province's secession from Ethiopia and proclaim an independent state. The TPLF's main demand is the creation of a new government in Ethiopia on a multiparty basis, including the involvement of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE].

The situation in the country is still tense. Whereas the EPLF ceased hostilities during the talks, the TPLF is continuing its battles with government troops. They are underway in five of Ethiopia's provinces, including on the borders of the central Shewa Province, where the republic's capital, Addis Ababa, is located. People's militia detachments are assisting the regular army.

Ethiopia's new foreign minister, Tesfaye Dinka, member of the WPE Central Committee Politburo, who met journalists accredited in Addis Ababa last week, said the country's government will at the same time make every effort to find a political settlement to the country's internal problems.

Talks With EPLF Viewed

EA2111191189 Moscow International Service in Swahili 1730 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] We correctly describe a human being as a living thing. Therefore, a war, be it a large or small war, short or long, can be described as a cancer on the body of a living thing. The cancer is very painful and difficult to treat medically. The Eritrean conflict, which has produced nearly 30 years of fierce war against Ethiopia, is a clear confirmation of this fact. The Eritrean war against the central government in Addis Ababa is the longest and bloodiest conflict in Africa.

Nowadays, human beings have learned to deal with their development problems in a new way. They take into consideration issues that are of more value to their lives and find better ways of solving their longstanding problems. Thanks to the changes that are taking place, something that would not have been thought possible some time ago can now be done. The new thinking of the politics of the modern world made it possible for a big step to be taken in efforts to solve the problem of the (?Palestinians). There have been peace initiatives in Kampuchea, and Namibia's independence will be witnessed by us all in the near future.

Today, we are awaiting with great interest and hope the news from the Kenyan capital, where representatives of the Ethiopian Government under the leadership of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] secretary, Ashagre Yigletu, and the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front [EPLF] delegation led by Al-Amin Muhammad Said have resumed peace talks in which former U.S. President Jimmy Carter is acting as mediator. These three individuals are the ones who conducted difficult but generally successful talks in Atlanta, U.S.A., last September. The Atlanta meeting paved the way for the current meeting in Nairobi.

The ongoing meeting is required, first and foremost, to reach a decision on three procedural issues affecting the forthcoming talks, issues that were not resolved at the Atlanta meeting. These include elections of a second mediator, the choice of a secretariat and appointment of (?observers). It is clear that these elections of [words indistinct] are an important matter for both sides because the procedures to be followed at the talks must satisfy both the government of Ethiopia and the Eritrean rebels so that they accept the legality of the deliberations.

There is no doubt that the talks will be difficult. There is no valid reason to (?believe otherwise). In my opinion, the EPLF's current position cannot be viewed only within the framework of secession. The views of both sides on the future of Eritrea are still very different, to the extent of not even being comparable. The EPLF demands the holding of a referendum among the citizens of Eritrea on the future of their province. It is clear that this method of solving the problem could mean that the Eritreans will vote for separation from Ethiopia. It is also clear that the Addis Ababa Government will not agree to

this at any price. The separation of Eritrea would mean big problems for Ethiopia and [words indistinct]. Therefore, many things depend on the outcome of the talks.

Today it is perhaps not necessary for us to repeat the question as to which side is to blame for all this, particularly given the fact that even after the hated imperial government was overthrown in Ethiopia, the Eritreans continued to see separation as the only way to solve their socioeconomic problems. Today is a day of big hopes. I hope that despite all the previous hatred, the conflicting parties will be able to take a further step toward discovering a common formula of understanding that will safeguard the interests of both sides, which is in the national interest of Ethiopia.

Somali Government Efforts To Liberalize Viewed

EA1511091689 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Commentary by Vladimir Borisov]

[Text] Siad Barre in an interview with AL-AHRAM, an Egyptian daily, stated that his government will follow its stated program on a multiparty system, and that plans are underway to hold free elections in the country next year.

The proposed elections will give all political parties an equal opportunity to participate in the government. The prolonged war between the government and the opposition movements has proven to Siad Barre that unless a solution is found to end the war, fighting will continue. It appears now that the government of President Mohamed Siad Barre has accepted this fact.

The government he heads celebrated its 20th anniversary in power last month. During the celebrations the president admitted that the situation in the country is unstable. The prevailing instability in the country has affected almost all sectors of the nation's life, such as the economy, which has been shattered by external and internal wars. The ugly face of clanism has resurfaced, violations of human rights have become common, and the blame falls on the government.

Means of resolving the country's internal strife other than the use of military force were described by the secretary-general of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party [SRSP] and president of the Somali Democratic Republic [SDR] three months ago. The SRSP is the sole political party in the country. It declared that a multiparty system would be introduced in the country. The December 1990 elections will see the introduction of political pluralism, which should be followed by a strengthening of the economy. In the past commentators have viewed this from different angles. This extraordinary step taken by the government is seen by many as a move by which the government wants to get out of a difficult situation.

It was also seen as a move by the regime to win support from the West, which helps the regime economically. Most Western countries have started cutting their economic aid to the regime. Regardless of its intentions, the step taken by the government today to put before the armed opposition movements fighting in the northern, central, and southern parts of the country a program which could bring peace is a bold move.

The Somali National Movement [SNM], which is the strongest opposition movement engaged in armed struggle to topple the government, has put forward a program similar to that of the government. It is not the government but the opposition movements that are opposed to the peace call.

What does the opposition, which up to now has not come up with a conclusive answer, want? It is conceivable that the opposition movements hope they will achieve victory through the barrel of the gun. Or could a lack of unity among the opposition groups be the reason for believing this? It appears that this could be the reason. Furthermore, neither the SNM nor any other movement has so far come up with any national program that could salvage the country from its current crisis.

The opposition groups describe themselves as democratic, national, and so on. Let them be what they call themselves, but is there any path at the moment better than peace and progress for Somalia?

Leadership Bodies Greet Angolan Leader

PM1611142989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[Soviet leadership bodies' undated message congratulating Angolan President Dos Santos on independence anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] and president of the People's Republic of Angola [PRA]

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government send you, the MPLA-PT Central Committee, the People's Assembly Permanent Commission, the PRA Government, and the entire friendly Angolan people cordial congratulations and best wishes on the 14th anniversary of the PRA's proclamation of independence.

Expressing solidarity with the Angolan people in their struggle for peace and stability in the PRA and for a political settlement in Southwest Africa and the south of the continent as a whole, Soviet people are ready to continue strengthening the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries.

We wish you, and through you the entire Angolan people, successes in resolving the political and socioeconomic tasks facing the PRA.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee
The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
The USSR Council of Ministers.

Ghanaian Army Commander Arrives in Moscow

PM1711095589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visit to Moscow"]

[Text] Major General W.M. Mensah-Wood, member of the Provisional National Defense Council and commander of the Republic of Ghana Ground Forces, arrived in Moscow 14 November on an official visit at the invitation of Army General V.I. Varennikov, USSR deputy defense minister and commander-in-chief of the Ground Forces.

Maj Gen W.M. Mensah-Wood was met at the airport by Colonel General D.A. Grinkevich, first deputy commander-in-chief and chief of General Staff of the Ground Forces, and other generals and officers.

K. Khesse [name as transliterated], ambassador of the Republic of Ghana to the USSR, was among the welcoming party.

East Europe

GDR's Modrow Interviewed on FRG, USSR Ties

PM2111163389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[Interview in Berlin with GDR Premier Hans Modrow by APN special correspondents V. Simonov and V. Markov for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Hans Modrow: 'I Want Renewal To Be Successful'"; date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are correspondents' introduction, last two paragraphs are correspondents' conclusion]

[Text] Berlin—"The two German states bear particular responsibility for preserving peace and stability in Europe. They belong to different alliances—the Warsaw Pact and NATO—and no one can disregard this..." That is what 61-year-old Hans Modrow, head of the new GDR cabinet of ministers, believes.

We talked with him in the GDR Council of Ministers conference hall. The first sitting of the new government, which is designed to play a much more important role in developing socialist society in the GDR than ever before, had just ended. It is on Hans Modrow, currently one of the most popular politicians in the GDR, that people are pinning their hopes for the future.

[Correspondents] What immediate tasks face the new GDR Government?

[Modrow] First the GDR, like any other country, must take care to ensure that its economy is efficient. At the first sitting of the new government we set the task of preventing the economic mechanism from faltering despite changes in its structure.

Next. In the current situation it is particularly important to continue the development of a socialist social system in the GDR.

[Correspondents] To what extent is the new procedure established at the FRG-GDR border whereby restrictions on GDR citizens' travel to the FRG and West Berlin have virtually been lifted, complicating the republic's economic position?

[Modrow] To be frank, I would say that the GDR population greeted this decision with great joy. This can be judged merely from the considerable number of GDR citizens who have already visited West Berlin and the FRG. Nevertheless, as head of government I must note with the utmost clarity that we cannot close our eyes to the increasing trend toward speculation stemming from the extremely unfavorable exchange rate for the GDR mark in the West. Not only the government but every GDR citizen bears a responsibility here.

[Correspondents] The government statement that you delivered in the People's Chamber said that the "community of responsibility" between the GDR and the FRG must be bolstered by "treaty community." Do these new formulas mean that your government is prepared for a new policy toward the FRG?

[Modrow] It cannot be otherwise. With a new government that advocates renewal, foreign policy cannot remain outside this process. The meeting between Egon Krenz and Helmut Kohl due to take place in the next few weeks, in which I will also take part, must help elaborate common approaches to the further development of GDR-FRG relations.

[Correspondents] What meaning do you attach to the concepts "community of responsibility" and "treaty community"?

[Modrow] When we talk about common responsibility we are referring primarily to the fact that both German states bear a special responsibility for preserving peace in Europe. This alone can suit the European people. Moreover, this question does not just concern the GDR and FRG. It is a question of considering the security interests of the Soviet Union and our other Warsaw Pact allies. That is where our responsibility lies above all. The GDR and the FRG belong to different alliances—the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and no one can disregard this.

[Correspondents] What significance do you attach to developing GDR-Soviet relations?

[Modrow] Relations with the USSR—and this was reflected in the government statement—are of vital importance for us. If you will allow me to make a personal comment, I will say that anyone who, like myself, has had ties with the Soviet Union since his youth cannot doubt that relations with the GDR must be further developed in breadth and depth. On the contrary,

this is a command of the heart for me, particularly after the Socialist Unity Party of Germany leadership displayed a cool attitude toward perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union in recent years. But I did not avoid using the words perestroyka and glasnost even before. I love the Russian language, and the Russians are not foreigners to me. I want the policy of renewal chosen by our government to be successful. [Modrow ends]

...Lack of constraint, openness, and simplicity of manner are characteristics that distinguish the head of the new GDR Government. Even in the Council of Ministers building we were, to tell the truth, surprised that Hans Modrow was not accompanied by any bodyguard. When we went out onto the street with him, a modest light car was there waiting for him. Hans Modrow took off his jacket and took the wheel himself.

The arrival of a new-type leader in Berlin inspires hope that socialist society in the GDR will overcome the current difficulties.

Modrow Profiled as 'Popular Political Figure'

PM2111164589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Nov 89 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov pen portrait of GDR Premier Hans Modrow]

[Text] Berlin—Hans Modrow, who has become the leader of the GDR Government at this difficult time for the country, is a popular political figure in the GDR. What is the secret of his popularity in a period when a whole series of party workers have had to step down to be replaced by others at the demand of demonstrators or lower party organizations?

It is probable that when the demonstrators took to the streets and squares of Dresden under the slogan "We are the people," Hans Modrow did not watch them in confusion from the windows of his office. He shouted: "We are the people, too!" It was obvious whom he was referring to: more than 2 million communists. The country's television viewers were able to see on their screens that in the front row of the Dresden demonstration demanding the country's renewal, in pouring rain, marched Hans Modrow, first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] bezirk committee. People of different views were among those in the streets. And they accepted him into their ranks. He advocates dialogue, which is something the country needs so much at present.

I have known Hans Modrow for a long time. He has always been straightforward, modest, accessible, and noticeably different in this respect from those leaders whom it used to be assumed the people would look up to from their lesser standpoint.

Every time I have visited Dresden in recent years I have endeavored to see Hans Modrow. And, despite his enormous workload, he found time for a Soviet journalist. However, on this occasion he could only fit me in at six in the morning.

He spoke frankly of his concerns. He did not hide the fact that he is worried by the situation in the national economy and the cultural sphere and by the reluctance of the party and state leadership to see the real situation at grassroots level, and by the fact that the upper echelons of the party watched restructuring in the Soviet Union with suspicion, while the GDR press essentially kept quiet about it, confining itself to reprinting official documents.

I learned indirectly, from rumors—he has never complained himself—that he is not much loved "at the top" because of his directness, principled attitude, genuine affinity with the working people, and popularity. He has held frequent meetings with workers, engineers, scientists, and artistes. People immediately sense that they are dealing with an intelligent, sincere, open person whom they can trust.

He is with the people and of the people. He was born in 1928 into a working class family. He began his working life as an apprentice at a plant and mastered the profession of mechanic. He played an active role in the life of the Free German Youth League. He was sent to study at the Higher Komsomol School in Moscow—hence his knowledge of the Russian language, which was probably noted by Soviet television viewers when he gave an interview to correspondents from Moscow. He also pursued his studies again later—at the SED Central Committee Karl Marx Higher Party School and as an extramural student at the Berlin Higher School of Economics. He has held various posts in the Free German Youth League and in the SED. He has been a member of the SED Central Committee since 1967. In 1973 communists in Dresden Bezirk elected him as first secretary of their regional committee.

At a recent rally in Dresden, when it was already common knowledge that the SED was recommending Hans Modrow for the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers, he reminded people: "I am already 61 years old; I will be able to work in this post for one term only." He assured them that he will tackle the tasks of renewal as a citizen of his country together with its other citizens.

He looks younger than his years. He is wiry and agile. This is not surprising: He finds the time to go swimming three times a week and run 10 kilometers twice a week.

He will have to move to the capital in connection with his new work. Where is he going to live? Hearing this question from journalists, he smiled and said: "I hope that the Oberbuergermeister will find an apartment for me somewhere." Those who know him have no doubt that this is no pose: He really does not need a mansion to live in, just an ordinary home.

Hans Modrow is becoming head of government of the German socialist state at a tense, difficult time.

Krenz Views SED Reform, Rules Out Reunification

LD2211114289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1039 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Report on interview with GDR party leader Egon Krenz by unidentified interviewer; published in 22 November edition of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov (TASS)—"In my view, the most important thing facing us now is regaining the trust of the people," stated Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in an interview published today in the weekly MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. He notes that crisis of the people's confidence in the party occurred because words did not always match deeds. The political system in the country for the past 40 years operated according to the principle of administration by injunction and not according to the principle of conviction. "We have now sorted out many things and have decided that it cannot continue like this."

Egon Krenz stressed: "I advocate calling to account those who are really guilty of the situation that has arisen, and I also advocate that the party, on the whole a healthy organism, continue its renewal. I am also firmly convinced that, by the extraordinary congress of the party, through elections in the primary organizations in the area and district committees, a renewed party will form that will wage an effective struggle in the elections."

The interview touched on prospects for the unification of Germany. Egon Krenz said: "The GDR is a socialist state and should remain as such. The GDR is a sovereign state and should remain sovereign. With whom we cooperate and how is our concern. Our main ally is the Soviet Union. That will continue to be the case. We are very closely linked to the socialist countries of Europe, and we have ties with other parts of the world. We favor good neighborliness with West Berlin and the FRG. All the rest is as yet illusions. In any case, the question of unification is not currently on the agenda."

Krenz Discusses Democracy, Reform Process

PM2111121789 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Nov 89 p 3

[TASS report: "E. Krenz Interview"]

[Text] Berlin, 20 Nov—Millions of GDR inhabitants have been the guests of E. Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. GDR television conducted a reportage from his apartment situated in the Pankow District of Berlin.

The conversation was of a sharp and very frank nature and gave television viewers an opportunity to acquaint themselves more closely with the GDR leader and to receive "firsthand" replies to very urgent questions. Chief attention was devoted in the conversation to the present internal political situation in the country, which continues to be of concern to working people.

"Is it possible that after the extraordinary SED congress you will no longer be general secretary?"

"I have always complied with my party's decisions. If it considers that this will be better for the cause, I will unquestioningly obey even such a decision on its part. But I wish to state honestly that at the Ninth SED Central Committee Plenum I advanced a program for the renewal of socialism designed not just for 4, 5, or 6 weeks. I would like to struggle to ensure that the shift that has begun to show becomes irreversible. The chief thing is whether the party will have confidence. One of our mistakes in the past was to ignore the opinion of communists. And if I advocate a new style and the policy of democratization, I must without fail obey the majority," E. Krenz pointed out.

Answering a question about the SED's leading role, the general secretary emphasized that the right to this has to be gained every day, through weighty deeds. Unfortunately, in the past the party did not pass the test of power and must now restore the lost confidence. Today it considers itself one of the five parties in the democratic bloc and is ready to cooperate closely with others in the name of the common good.

Complex tasks lie ahead. It is not a question of cosmetic operations but of fundamental changes aimed at deliverance from the Stalinist legacy and the elimination of the administrative-edict system. A tremendous role in this work is allocated to the people's representative bodies. The "SED Action Program" adopted by the 10th Central Committee Plenum provides for the elaboration of a new law on elections, which will make it possible to turn the councils into genuine organs of people's power, it was stated in the interview.

The opening of the GDR border also serves as a convincing argument in favor of the policy of renewal. We signed the Final Act in Helsinki and the Vienna documents. However, we have not fulfilled the agreements reached there on all points. The country's new leadership considers it a matter of honor that its words should not be at variance with its deeds.

The recently created coalition government has submitted an extensive program of economic reforms whose realization will make it possible to considerably improve production efficiency and resolve many social problems. These reforms are aimed at strengthening socialism. Those who reckon that it is possible to turn back toward capitalism do not have the slightest chance of succeeding in our country, E. Krenz firmly declared.

Krenz, Modrow Meet With FRG Official

PM2111195589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch: "Sovereignty Is Unshakable"]

[Text] Berlin—Rudolf Seiters, FRG minister for special assignments and chief of chancellery, has arrived in Berlin. He met with Egon Krenz, Hans Modrow, and other GDR leaders.

Questions of disarmament and confidence-building measures were discussed in the light of the Vienna talks, as were questions of the development of bilateral relations on a firm, long-term basis. It was noted that unification is not on the agenda—the GDR has been and continues to be a sovereign state. Trade and economic problems were examined, including "help of a new type" from the FRG, and cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection, transport, and communications. Chancellor H. Kohl's forthcoming visit to the GDR was also discussed. The date remains to be agreed, but the approximate period for the visit is known—sometime this year after the Extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Congress (to be held 15 through 17 December).

A session of the German-Soviet Friendship Society Central Board was held. The wind of renewal has reached it too. The session raised the question of radical changes to the society's work. A report was delivered by Heinz Kuhrig, the society's vice president. This was followed by a discussion. The position of the previous SED leadership toward perestroyka had taken society to the brink of a crisis. The session participants decided to convene an extraordinary congress of the society in the first quarter of next year. A letter from Erich Mueckenberger was then read out: He had not appeared at the session owing to "poor health." In the letter he asked to be relieved of his duties as chairman of the German-Soviet Friendship Society. Heinz Kuhrig stated that the former German-Soviet Friendship Society leadership bears the responsibility, because of its inconsistency and sometimes inadequacy, for the incorrect position vis-a-vis the USSR and for infringing the interests of society members with the ban on a number of Soviet films and the magazine SPUTNIK. He proposed that the Presidium and Secretariat resign. The proposal was accepted with just one vote against and two abstentions. A working secretariat was elected with Heinz Kuhrig as its chairman.

Mass demonstrations continue to be one of the main determinants of political life in the GDR. Monday around 200,000 people marched through the central streets of Leipzig and a 2-hour rally was held in Karl Marx Square. The demands are the same as before: free elections and the abandonment by the SED of its leading role. The rally participants tumultuously expressed their solidarity with the civil rights movement in Czechoslovakia.

Large demonstrations have been held in Cottbus, Halle, Magdeburg, Schwerin, and other GDR cities.

GDR's 'Democratic Bloc' Forms New Government

PM2111132589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by TASS correspondent I. Osinksiy: "Will Quintet Play? On Multiparty System Under Conditions of Perestroyka in GDR"]

[Text] The GDR Volkskammer session which opened yesterday announced the composition of the new GDR Government, which is destined to go down in the country's history with what is considered here to be the honorary title of "coalition" government. It has been formed by five parties that comprise the Democratic Bloc, a TASS correspondent reports from Berlin.

This alliance has existed for over 40 years. But this is perhaps the first time that the formation of the Council of Ministers has been of an informal nature. Officials have reported that the discussion of the concept proposed by new Prime Minister Hans Modrow and of the alternative candidates put forward by the parties for the ministers' posts was very lively. In previous years this procedure did not take long—the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] assigned the "portfolios" personally, leaving its allies in the bloc only the right to "unanimous approval."

On the eve of the Volkskammer session I met with representatives of a GDR opposition organization, "Democracy Now," the economist Hans-Jurgen Fishbek and Wolfgang Apfeld [surnames as transliterated]. This grouping is only at the formation stage and cannot yet lay claim to leading roles in the leadership of the republic, especially as the existing election law does not give nonparliamentary formations the right to put forward candidates for the Volkskammer. But the "oppositionists" are attentively following the development of the situation in the country. Voicing profound sympathy for Hans Modrow, who enjoys truly enormous popularity in the GDR, my interlocutors nonetheless displayed no great optimism with regard to his mission. The coalition will be formal; the burden of many years of what have, alas, been far from the best traditions is too heavy, they believe.

To understand why the SED has simultaneously been playing all these years the role of conductor and "first fiddle," transforming its partners into mere extras, we shall make a short digression into history.

The formation of the multiparty system began on the territory of the present GDR in the first days after the war. In accordance with order number 2 published by the Soviet Military Administration in Germany in early June 1945, the creation of antifascist parties and organizations was allowed in the Soviet occupied zone. On 11 June of that same year the Communist Party of Germany was formed and 4 days later the Social Democrats published their policy documents. Matters were more complicated with regard to the bourgeois-democratic parties, whose members were required to reconsider their past and find a path into the future. But in their ranks, too, there were

many sober-minded people who were able to draw the bitter lesson from history and give a correct political assessment of postwar realities.

On 26 June 1945 the Christian Democratic Union was formed, uniting in its ranks the believers among the population. On 5 July of that same year the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany appeared, representing the interests of artisans and small businessmen and some intellectuals and employees. In 1948 the Democratic Peasants' Party and National Democratic Party were created. And 2 years previously the Communists and Social Democrats had decided to join ranks in the SED.

In creating the Democratic Bloc the parties assured the public that they would conduct their activity on the basis of the principles of unity and equal rights, although it is not hard to suppose that they themselves found this hard to believe.

Subordinating themselves unquestioningly to the Communists, the other parties in the Democratic Bloc proceeded, naturally, from the best of intentions. And at the same time they increasingly did the SED a disservice by enabling it to believe in its own infallibility. With the years merited authority grew into diktat.

The fruit of the "firm hand" or administrative-edict system can be encountered today at every step. The economy has found itself in a grave crisis. The financial system is in disarray. There is profound stagnation in the spiritual sphere. Human rights have been flagrantly flouted. People have lost their faith in justice. This was also stated frankly at the recent session of the GDR Volkskammer and at recent SED Central Committee plenums.

It is considerably more difficult to return debts than to incur them. The SED has to a considerable extent lost trust not only among the country's population but also among its loyal allies in the bloc. No, they are in no way seeking to distance themselves from the communists, they share equal blame with them for the past. But henceforth they intend to play an active part in social life. Each of the parties has elaborated and published for broad discussion its own platform for the renewal of socialism on German soil.

The majority of observers are convinced that there is no alternative to the Democratic Bloc. It unites in its ranks representatives of all the main strata of the population and has a well tuned structure. Will it ultimately work under the new conditions? That depends primarily on whether the parties are able, having discarded their past grievances and misunderstandings, to elaborate a single platform not verbally but in essence and embark on its implementation, naturally, on the basis of the principles of full equality.

The opposition organizations are also prepared to join the bloc. They have great authority among the population and express interesting ideas. But so far they have neither the legal basis nor sufficient experience to implement them...

Developments in GDR, East Europe Assessed

LD1911015189 Moscow International Service in Czech 1600 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Georgiy Grammatchikov commentary: "Events in European Socialist Countries"—read by announcer]

[Text] The Soviet people follow these events with a great interest despite the fact that they have a lot of their own internal problems.

Also, at a Moscow meeting between students and Mikhail Gorbachev, one of the first questions that was asked concerned the changes in the GDR, and the Soviet leadership's stance toward these changes. The Supreme Soviet official's answer has already been broadcast in our information programs. He said that the events in the GDR do not go beyond the process of renewal that has developed in all socialist countries. In this process every nation that strives to discover the potential of socialist order must base it on a specific condition as well as traditions and their way of life. All these elements then determine the forms and pace of changes. We welcome what is happening in the GDR, said Mikhail Gorbachev.

This is our principal standpoint, continues the Radio Moscow commentator. It is confirmed by practice—and not only in the GDR. Remember how many suprising events have taken place in Eastern Europe lately.

The communists in Poland handed power over to Solidarity. In Hungary the governing party disbanded itself. The Berlin wall was taken down. In Bulgaria, the leadership was changed. So, this is the order of the times.

The changes have really ripened and yesterday's practices do not suit people anymore. It would be, to say the least, silly and in most cases immoral to fight these changes. Our standpoint has, of course, nothing to do with indifference—to let everything develop as it goes, not being concerned, etc. We are sincerely interested that developments in one country or the other are not accompanied by violence and bloodshed, that the process of renewal really benefits the people, and mistakes and shortcomings are minimal.

There is yet one more point of view: Internal processes must not lead to destabilization in the international situation. Peace on the continent, which has been established at the cost of so many difficulties, is still too fragile. The consequences of irresponsible steps and appeals can be too dangerous for it.

In the West a lot is said and writen these days about the prospects of the unification of the GDR and FRG.

Mikhail Gorbachev also spoke at the meeting with students about the attitude of the Soviet Union toward this problem. I do not think that a question of the unification of these states is today the question of topical policymaking. I think that all Europeans as well as world communities have interest in stability, in the development of Europe and the world within the framework of this stability and the normal development of the Helsinki process and in changes to new forms of shared living.

Life will show what comes next. This view, by the way, is also shared by leading officials of Western countries. We assume this because of their numerous statements. In addition, the GDR citizens themselves are not putting the question of reunification on the agenda of talks.

Regardless of the specific character of changes in every socialist country, continues the Moscow Radio commentator, we easily find in these changes a lot of similar features. They concern not only principal directions in economic reforms, new arrangement of social structures, and the democratization of society. Let us take as an example the change of top cadres.

In Bulgaria, after the departure of Todor Zhivkov, the former supreme representative, and the resignation of a number of party officials who were supporters of a bureaucratic management, Vladimir Zhivkov, the son of the recent supreme official of the party and state, was then dismissed from his post.

Forming and strengthening family clans and putting relatives in high positions was—and in some places still is—one of the real signs of an administrative and command system and testimony to the distortion of socialist principles. Such a situation stirred up in people passivity and fatalism as well as distrust in the possibility of collective methods of management, writes one of the readers in the Bulgarian daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

We know from our own experience, the Moscow Radio commentator continues, how "family favors" in governing circles demoralize the entire social atmosphere. An infamous case of Brezhnev's son-in-law Churbanov showed that similar situations can be accompanied by such negative phenomena as corruption and moral disintegration.

The restoration of socialist society to health in all its aspects is a pressing task that is being tackled in the process of reform by our countries and nations. By getting rid of all those things that are fossils and outdated, we are moving forward quicker to reach the aims that lie ahead of us.

Reportage on Demonstrations, Unrest in CSSR

Prague Protesters' Demands Noted

PM2111193189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Vtorushin dispatch under rubric "Socialist Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries": "Rallies in Squares"]

[Text] Prague, 21 Nov—For 4 days now rallies and demonstrations have been held in the squares and streets of the Czechoslovak capital. According to media estimates, last night some 200,000 people took part in them.

The mass demonstrations have been triggered by the actions of the law-enforcement forces 17 November during a student demonstration in the course of which several dozen people were injured. These actions have been condemned by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Youth Union, the leadership of the student movement, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and a number of other organizations. All Prague theaters canceled their performances Saturday as an expression of support for the students. They have been joined in recent days by theater companies in Bratislava, Brno, and other cities. Monday, students at Prague, Bratislava, and Olomouc higher educational establishments boycotted their classes. There have been calls for a general strike. What are the demonstrators' demands?

The following demands were featured on the posters carried and the speeches made: free elections, political pluralism in the practice of society's life, providing of the public with truthful information. The demonstrators expressed dissatisfaction with the government. Calls for an open dialogue, acceleration of economic and social transformations, and the democratization of society rang out from the column.

The situation that has developed in the country after the student demonstration of 17 November was discussed at an emergency joint session of the federal and republic governments yesterday. Today all the central newspapers publish a statement from the conference participants. It says, in part, that the decisive precondition for the implementation of the perestroyka and democratization program is the active support of the whole of society, including young people. Therefore, the attempts to disturb public order and stir up distrust in the activities of the government and in the socialist system are causing alarm. This approach plays into the hands of the opponents of perestroyka and runs counter to the genuine interests of the people. The republic and federal governments have expressed themselves unequivocally in favor of a political solution of the problems, but not in an atmosphere of rumors and antisocialist actions.

On the demand of the premier of the Czech Government, the republic prosecutor general has issued instructions that the actions of the security subunits on 17 November 1989 be investigated.

Late in the evening a session of the Czech Communist Party Central Committee Presidium was held at which the political situation in the country was discussed. The Presidium acquainted itself with the position of primary party organizations, labor collectives, and organs and organizations of the National Front which have expressed alarm in connection with the tense situation that has developed in recent days and rejected calls for strikes.

'Vremya' Reports Demonstrations

LD2211035289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 89

[From "Vremya" newscast; report from Prague by correspondent Sergey Andreyev]

[Text] Yesterday events snowballed and attained a speed and breadth that people here have not perhaps seen since the demonstrations in 1948. [video shows crowd in a dark square]

Some 200,000 people, mainly young people, took part in demonstrations and rallies in the streets of Prague. Higher educational establishments and many secondary schools and high schools were empty—not just in Prague, but in other cities too. The strikers are demanding, first and foremost, an investigation into the causes of the clashes with the security forces on 17 November. In general, the spectrum of the different organizations' demands is varied and broad—from moderate ones, such as acceleration toward democratization and perestroyka, to extreme ones, such as the retirement of the country's present leadership.

And there are today's pictures from Wenceslas Square. [video shows small crowd listening to a speaker] I have just travelled through the city center. Thousands and thousands of people are moving toward the square.

[Video shows Andreyev in the studio holding a copy of RUDE PRAVO] And so today's RUDE PRAVO publishes a message from the Government of Czechoslovakia, the Czech lands, and Slovakia in connection with the situation over the last few days. The government stresses its devotion to perestroyka and dialogue. The message is headlined: Yes to dialogue—no to confrontation. In this connection I recall the heading of one of the same paper's editorials, dated 27 January this year: Dialogue with whom and about what? Now, as you can see, the position has changed. The next few days will show whether this change will influence the strikers and demonstrators, and whether life will return to its usual routine.

Government Responses Noted

LD2111160189 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Prague November 21 TASS—By TASS correspondents Valeriy Rzhevskiy and Vitaliy Yaroshevskiy:

Complying with the demand of the chairman of the Czech Government, the republic's general procurator has ordered the investigation of actions taken by security troops on November 17, 1989, the Czechoslovak news service reports.

A massive demonstration was held in the centre of Prague on Monday. Taking part in it were some 200,000 people, Czechoslovak television reports. Demonstrators converged on Wenceslas Square to protest against actions taken by law enforcement forces against Prague students on November 17.

A spontaneous meeting voiced dissatisfaction with the progress of restructuring and democratisation processes in the country. It expressed utter disagreement with the repressive measures used by official bodies, the Czechoslovak news service reports. Law and order was maintained during the meeting by its participants.

The demonstrators demanded free elections, political pluralism and truthful reporting. They also censured the government. The meeting was addressed by Vasil Mohorita, member of the secretariat of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Socialist Youth League of Czechoslovakia.

He read out a statement issued by the Socialist Youth League Secretariat demanding, among other things, an objective investigation of the November 17 actions by law enforcement forces, and calling on the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia to set up urgently an investigation committee for this purpose.

No topics should be off limits to public discussion. There should be no preset answers to the burning issues. The current situation cannot be resolved without a dialogue with everyone who cares for the future of the socialist homeland, the statement notes.

After the meeting thousands of demonstrators headed towards the Prague citadel carrying national flags and streamers. They were stopped by the police on Karlov Bridge. According to Czechoslovak mass media, the manifestation was peaceful and there were no excesses.

A meeting of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee was held late in the evening. It discussed the political situation in the country. The Presidium was informed about the stands of primary party organizations, working collectives and various organs and organisations of the National Front. They all expressed concern about the current tension and rejected calls to go on strike.

An emergency meeting of the governments of Czechoslovakia and of the Czech and the Slovak Socialist Republics stressed that active support from the entire society, including the young people, was needed to carry out the programme of reconstruction and democratisation.

This is why attempts to upset law and order, to sow mistrust towards the government and towards the

socialist system are alarming. These actions play into the hands of enemies of reforms and run counter to the people's true interests. The governments of the two republics and the federal Cabinet called for a political settlement of the problem, but not in an atmosphere of rumours and anti-socialist pronouncements.

The newspaper SVOBODNE SLOVO has published a statement by the leadership of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party.

"We are compelled to express clearly and openly," the document says, "our absolute disagreement with the actions taken by security forces against the manifestation of November 17. Violence has been used once more against defenceless demonstrators. The soul and conscience of the people have been violated. This has caused immeasureable damage. In spite of growing sociopolitical tension, the road to a dialogue and consensus is still open. We must not miss the last chance to carry out the Czechoslovak people's aspirations by democratic means."

A statement was also issued by the Czechoslovak public committee on human rights and humanitarian cooperation. The document recalls the international commitments on human rights and liberties in forces within the framework of the Helsinki process. The committee demands that these commitments be made part and parcel of everyday social life.

"The point in question is to preserve the bedrock values of socialism and to maintain socialist law and order," the statement stresses.

According to the Czechoslovak news service, unsanctioned demonstrations of young people and students have taken place in Bratislava, Brno, Ostrava and other towns of the country.

Czech Government Holds Special Meeting

LD2211002989 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Prague November 21 TASS—The Government of the Czech Socialist Republic had a special meeting here today to hear information by government ministers on the internal political situation in the country.

The members of the government took note of the fact that the head of the Czech Government applied to the Czech prosecutor-general on November 19 in a request to inquire into the causes which led to the actions of security forces on November 17 and into the adequacy of the actions.

On the strength of the information heard, the government instructed the Czech minister of the interior and the environment to take measures to ensure that public security forces when maintaining the public order and tranquility act consistently and in accordance with laws and intervene only in those cases when people's life and health, their property or the property of organisations are put in jeopardy.

At the same time the government urged the Czech prosecutor-general to regularly inform the government, the national front bodies and the public of the results of investigation.

The Czech Government is calling on all citizens and young people to give up strikes and demonstrations, help the government resolve the current extremely complex situation and promote the observance of civic discipline and order at the workplaces and at the places of residence.

'Stormy' 21 Nov Demonstration in Prague

LD2211002889 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Prague November 21 TASS—Wenceslas Square in Prague today again became an arena of a stormy demonstration involving more than 100,000 people.

Those present insisted on their demands for an immediate investigation of the brutal suppression of a student demonstration last Friday.

Speakers at the meeting openly voiced political demands formulated by the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Social Forum—a new organisation—and the student strike committee.

The demands include resignation of some leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the holding of free elections, an acceleration of restructuring and the development of democracy and social life.

A message from Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, the archbishop of Prague, was read out at the meeting. Tomasek called on all protesters to continue to follow a nonviolent way subsequently as well.

There was normal working day at the capital's enterprises, the Czechoslovak news agency CTK reported.

Jakes Meets Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Group

PM2211121089 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Responsibility Needed"]

[Text] Prague, 21 Nov—M. Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, met here with the leadership of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society. In his speech he stressed the society's great services in strengthening and developing fraternal relations beween the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the peoples of the USSR.

Touching on the domestic situation in the country today, the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary stressed: It must be recalled that the successes of restructuring

depend on economic, social, and political stability. Any attempts to disrupt that stability and create chaos and anarchy, which various forces have sought to do in recent days by trying to manipulate a part of our cultural front, especially young people and theater workers, could seriously complicate the process of necessary changes and bring society to the brink of a crisis with unpredictable consequences. The present situation requires civic responsibility, reason, and prudence from everyone. The Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society can and should play a part in this. Emotion can only damage rational, intelligent dialogue about all the important tasks of restructuring and the development of socialism, M. Jakes stressed.

Supreme Soviet Congratulates Bulgaria's Mladenov

LD1711183389 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet today cordially congratulated Peter Mladenov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on his election to the post.

The message expressed conviction that Soviet-Bulgarian friendship and comprehensive cooperation will reliably serve the interests of the fraternal peoples and wished success in the radical renewal of Bulgarian society.

Shevardnadze Discusses Friendship With Mladenov

AU2111143289 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 20 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[Tsveta Kenardzhieva report: "Real Values Are Universal"]

[Excerpts] ...Saturday, 18 November, 1200 local time. The hall on the seventh floor in which the 29-member Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has three Friday meetings every month fills up with an unusual public. Regardless of the nicely arranged flowers, fruit, candies, coffee, and tea, the red notebooks, pens, and pencils placed on the desk and the tens of tape recorders, cameras, and television cameras imply that an important meeting is about to take place. [passage omitted]

Before further describing the atmosphere at the press conference, let me report the question asked by OTECHESTVEN FRONT:

[Kenardzhieva] Esteemed Eduard Amvrosiyevich, openness [otkritost] and glasnost have become characteristic of Soviet diplomacy in recent years. Is your greetings message to your long-time colleague, Petur Mladenov, secret? How do you see Bulgaria's future role in the international arena?

[Shevardnadze] We talked over the telephone.... We said many things to each other. However, the "secret" you ask about, my wishes to him, could be summarized in one sentence: I expressed the wish that he will implement the ideals and ideas he has talked about in recent years.

[Kenardzhieva] Later on Eduard Shevardnadze returned to the topic of Bulgaria, the processes of renewal, and the new party and state leadership.

[Shevardnadze] I must say that Petur Mladenov and I are not merely colleagues and acquaintances, but that we also are very close to each other and have always understood each other very well. We had many opportunities—in Bulgaria, the USSR, and throughout the world—to talk in a friendly manner. Thus, I am familiar with his fundamental views about socialism. They are absolutely progressive, I would say even revolutionary views related to the renewal of socialist society. I can also add that Petur Mladenov is absolutely an educated and talented man with a broad outlook and that he is an experienced politician. Therefore, I speak in such a confident manner about the prospects of implementing the concept of constructing and renewing socialism in Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

[Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 20 November on page 1 carries under the headline of Tsveta Kenardzhieva's report a photograph of a note by Shevardnadze, written in English on stationery of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which reads: "With best wishes to the fraternal Bulgarian people in their holy struggle for renewing socialism. E. Shevardnadze, 18 November 1989."]

Demonstrations in 'Many Towns' in Bulgaria

LD2211035989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 89

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Demonstrations and rallies are taking place in many towns in Bulgaria. Those taking part are expressing a desire for active participation in the democratic process of perestroyka. The citizens of Bulgaria are speaking frankly about what is hindering normal work and about the obstacles created by the bureaucratic machine. [video shows demonstration, people waving placards, person being interviewed]

Communism Not To Blame for Zhivkov Mistakes

LD2111211289 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Viktor Samarin commentary]

[Excerpt] Next the developments in Bulgaria. Radical changes are taking place in the life of that country. The top political leadership has changed, there are many new names in the Cabinet, new forces are entering economic management. Our correspondent in Sofia Viktor Samarin has the details.

The new party leader and chairman of the State Council Petur Mladenov has unequivocally described the essence

of the developments that are regarded by the majority of the Bulgarians as necessary and long expected. He said this is the final and irreversible dismantling of the bureaucratic system aimed at making Bulgaria a civilized, humane, truly democratic and law governed socialist state. For several days thousands of people in Sofia are joining planned and spontaneous rallies, welcoming the new policy of glasnost and pluralism, the acceleration of economic restructuring and reforms in public life. At the rallies, however, there are people who are playing their own game and trying to use the growth of public energy for their own purposes. Attempts are made to ascribe the mistakes made by Todor Zhivkov and his closest associates to the entire Communist Party and socialism as a system; but these attempts don't enjoy much support. Neither is there much enthusiasm about calls made by some speakers to form new parties and trade unions along with existing ones in the country.

Bulgaria is not a one-party country. In addition to the Communist Party the ruling coalition includes the Agrarian People's Union and other political organizations loyal to the socialist choice of the nation. The events in Bulgaria have shown again that it is Communists who take the initiative and assume the responsibility for the complex process of restructuring and renewal. [passage omitted]

Reportage on Romanian Communist Party Congress

Tasks Facing Congress Previewed

PM2111141589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by special correspondents V. Vedrashko and Ye. Spekhov: "The 14th Romanian Communist Party (RCP) Congress Has Begun Work"]

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Nov—For 5 days the congress participants will be examining the most important problems in the party's life, the country's further development, and its domestic and foreign policy.

At 0800 hours delegates were invited into the hall where the forum was due to begin. With them were members of 115 delegations from 82 countries representing the Communist, Socialist, and Social Democratic Parties and progressive movements with which the RCP maintains links. There is a CPSU delegation here, headed by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Romanian Communists' forum was declared open. The congress working organs, the Presidium, the Credentials Commission, and the Secretariat were elected. The Central Committee's report on the present stage of the development of Romania's socialist society, the Central Committee's activity in the period between the 13th and 14th RCP Congresses, the fulfillment of the directive program for Romania's socioeconomic development in the Ninth 5-Year Plan and the long term through the years 2000 to 2010 was presented for delegates' attention. The report was delivered at the congress by N. Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP.

The congress agenda also included the Central Auditing Commission's report, the draft directive program for socioeconomic development in 1991-1995 and the long-term directions for 2000 to 2010, and the elections of the secretary general of the RCP, the RCP Central Committee, and the Central Auditing Commission.

In the days ahead the 3,308 delegates elected at conferences of RCP judet organizations and the Bucharest municipal party organization will work in plenary sessions and in eight sections.

Difficult tasks confront Romania's Communists today. There are problems and deficiencies. But people here believe that the results that have been achieved ensure the implementation in general terms of the previous party congress decisions. The modernization of production has continued. A program of housing and sociocultural building has been conducted in all judets. Improvements in the economy have helped to increase working people's real wages by approximately 10 percent since 1985. Pensions have risen. However, the problem of product quality has been revealed in all its urgency. And as is well known, the world market is willing to buy only those things which meet the world standard.

From talks with local economic and party leaders and congress delegates you get the impression that they are trying to change and substantially improve the general economic situation and the attitude toward production efficiency. The intensification of production is an imperative need for the Romania economy.

Here is what congress delegate Vasile Tudorache, party committee secretary at a heavy equipment combine in the city of Iasi, told us. The need to intensify production and pay the utmost attention to young cadres' work and everyday lives are the most urgent problems today, in his view. The plant where he works is a young one and the average age of its workers is 24. The party committee secretary talked confidently and calmly about various aspects of the large collective's life, relations with subcontractors, and the immediate plans of the enterprise, which is soon to receive another 1,000 workers. This is a big problem; they need housing and training in their new professions.

Today Vasile Tudorache and the other delegates have come to discuss the urgent problems of their republic's development. The congress' work will show how that discussion will proceed.

Congress Begins 20 Nov

LD2011130989 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest November 20 TASS—The 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) began deliberations here today.

It will examine the key report of the Central Committee on the present stage in the devlopment of Romanian socialist society, the activities of the Central Committee between the 13th and 14th RCP Congresses, the fulfillment of the policymaking programme for Romania's social and economic development during the Ninth 5-Year Plan and up to the year 2010.

The agenda also includes a report by the Central Auditing Commission, a draft policymaking programme for the social and economic development from 1991 to 1995 and guidelines for growth until the year 2010, and the election of the party's general secretary, the RCP Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission.

The congress is attended by 3,308 delegates elected by conferences of provincial party organisations and the Bucharest party organisation, some 900 party veterans, workers of party and government bodies, pubic organisations, representatives of working people, as well as 115 foreign delegations from 82 countries.

Delivering the key report at the Congress, Romanian Communist Party leader Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that the 14th party congress is an epoch-making event in the history of Romania, in the activities of the revolutionary labour movement and the party and in the country's social and economic development.

He noted that the congress is being held in a special international situation when the socialist countries and all nations are facing new problems concerning revolutionary changes in the world, the creation of new public relations and new relations between states and nations, all of which aim to establish a better and more just world.

Mindful of the achievements scored by the Romanian people on the road towards socialism, the 14th party congress will sum up general results of the present stage in the development of Romanian society, draft programmes for its development in the forthcoming five-year plan period and up to the year 2010 on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism and communism to raise Romania to new levels of progress and civilisation and to strengthen its independence and sovereignty, Ceausescu noted.

21 Nov Proceedings Reported

LD2211042289 Moscow TASS in English 2300 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest November 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Bausin: The 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party continued work here on Tuesday.

The plenary meeting discussed the report of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee on the present phase in the development of Romanian socialist society, the activity of the Central Committee in the period between the 13th and the 14th congresses, and the implementation of the directive programme of the country's social and economic development in the Ninth 5-Year Plan and up to the period from 2000 to 2010.

The congress analyzed the processes in the country with the aim of securing the fulfillment of the programme of construction in Romania of a comprehensively developed socialist society and the advancement of the country towards communism.

Speakers voiced full support for and praised the Communist Party programme document. On behalf of their party organizations, they pledged to make all possible efforts to fully accomplish the tasks set for the current five-year period and make a good start to secure good work in the future.

Special attention was drawn to the need to further improve the style and methods of work of the party bodies and organizations, enhance their responsibility and militancy in resolving pressing issues of the economic and social life.

The need was stressed to forcefully develop inner party democracy, criticism and self-criticism. The congress emphasized the need to encourage an open and clear-cut approach towards shortcomings and to put things right in good time.

Vorotnikov Received by Ceausescu

LD2111150889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Nov (TASS)—Today, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Vitaliy Vorotnikov, head of the CPSU delegation at the 14th Congress of the RCP, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The latter briefed the Romanian leader on the present stage of perestroyka, which aims to reveal the potential of socialism more fully in the spirit of its Leninist conception, and on the work done in preparation for the next, 28th Congress of the CPSU.

N. Ceausescu described Romania's development at various stages of construction of socialism, and the main tasks being put forward by the 14th Congress of the RCP.

The participants in the conversation gave a positive evaluation of the present state of Soviet-Romanian relations, which are given considerable stimulus by summit-level agreements. It was stressed that stepping up exchanges of experience, utilizing the reserves of economic and humanitarian cooperation, and strengthening ties between the RSFSR and districts of Romania, within the framework of interstate relations, can well serve the interests of the people of the two countries.

Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador in the Socialist Republic of Romania, took part in the conversation, which was conducted in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Poland Regrets 'Provocative' Jubilee Speech

PM2111112789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Organizational Committee's Apologies"]

[Text] PAP circulated a statement by the committee organizing the commemoration of the restoration of state independence marked in Poland 11 November.

The statement says that the organizational committee apologizes to those who participated in the patriotic demonstration at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw for the irresponsible, clearly provocative political speech by W. Ziembinski, which was not approved by the organizational committee. It violated the demonstration's patriotic character.

Dzerzhinskiy Monument in Warsaw Removed

PM2011163789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Poland: Pulling Down Dzerzhinskiy's Monument"]

[Text] Warsaw—A curious crowd gathered Thursday 16 November in the Polish capital's central square, which hitherto bore the name of Feliks Dzerzhinskiy. Now it has been renamed Bank Square, thus having its old name restored. A monument to F. Dzerzhinskiy had stood there for 38 years, ever since 1951. Now it is being pulled down.

The decision to remove the monument was made by the city authorities on the formal pretext of carrying out work associated with the laying of subway tracks near the square. It is, however, an open secret that an action group headed by writer J. Waldorff long ago hatched the idea of pulling down the monument and restoring the square's old name. Whereas in the past the authorities did not support these efforts, this time they raised no obstacles at all. Is there maybe an intention to preserve the statue and move it somewhere else? No, this is out of the question. Furthermore, according to the newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY, Dzerzhinskiy's figure is made of soft concrete covered by a thin layer of copper and therefore, according to the director of urban highways dealing with the monument's demolition, there is no guarantee that the statue will not fall apart when it is being taken down. As for the pedestal, it is durable and may be suitable for other monuments.

"Take a look at Feliks today, for tomorrow will be too late"—this is how GAZETA WYBORCZA captioned a photograph of the monument in its 16 November issue. Crowds of the capital's residents gathered outside the City Hall to watch "Dzerzhinskiy being kicked out."

But it was not just the curious who gathered in the square. The demolition of the monument created a wave of enthusiasm among those groupings which make their presence felt—as they did in Gdansk—by burning Russian-language books and newspapers and organizing anti-Soviet demonstrations like the one in Warsaw on 11 November, when the 71st anniversary of the restoration of Poland's state independence was celebrated. Young people gamboled and gave vent to jubilation around the ruins of the monument in the Polish capital's center.

As for the action group led by writer J. Waldorff, it is already busy pushing another idea—the erection of a monument depicting Marshal J. Pilsudski on horseback in neighboring Victory Square and, incidentally, the renaming of the square for the marshal.

Hungary's Puja Says MSZMP Still Viable

PM2111093589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Continues To Live"]

[Text] The newspaper MAGYAR NEMZET published a conversation with Frigyes Puja, former Hungarian foreign minister and now chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Interim Organizational Committee.

In his opinion, the extraordinary MSZMP congress that took place at the beginning of October, at which the decision was made to create the new Hungarian Socialist Party, did not put an end to the MSZMP's existence because it did not have the right to do this. In addition, the opinion of most MSZMP members has not been clarified on this question. F. Puja believes that the MSZMP has not been dissolved, it continues to live and function and is a legitimate party.

Paper Marks Albanian Capital's 1944 Liberation

PM1711153989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences G. Mitkevich: "On 45th Anniversary of Liberation of Tirana in November 1944"]

[Excerpts] On 17 November the Albanian people will observe a significant date in their history. The country's

capital, Tirana, was liberated from German fascist invaders 45 years ago. The military operation to liberate it, carried out by the Albanian National Liberation Army, will forever be a vivid page in the annals of the Albanian people's struggle against foreign invaders. [passage omitted]

Forty-five years have gone by since that time. The city's appearance has changed beyond recognition. Today, Tirana is the country's largest political and administrative, cultural, scientific, and industrial center. Around 220,000 people live here—approximately 9 times the prewar population. Entire developments of modern apartment blocks have been built and new parks and public gardens have been laid out. Most of the cultural and scientific institutions are concentrated in the city, including the Academy of Sciences, higher education institutes, theaters, film studios, and museums, which did not exist at all in Albania before the liberation.

Dozens of new industrial enterprises have been built in Tirana. They include such enterprises as the motor and tractor plant, the textile combine, and others. Some of these were constructed in the 1950's with Soviet assistance. Around 20 percent of the country's entire industrial production is now in the Albanian capital, including over 35 percent of machine building and metalworking plants. Tirana holds first place in Albania for light industry production and second place for food industry output.

The Soviet people have cherished friendly feelings for the Albanian people in the past and continue to do so. On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Tirana's liberation from the fascist occupiers they cordially congratulate the Albanian people on this significant anniversary and wish them successes in building a new life and in the struggle for peace and friendship between peoples.

West Europe

Yazov Continues Official Visit to Austria

Meets Waldheim in Vienna

LD2211103489 Moscow TASS IN English 1025 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Vienna November 22 TASS—Visiting Soviet Defence Minister General Dmitriy Yazov met Austrian Federal President Kurt Waldheim here today.

They noted the good-neighbourly nature of Soviet-Austrian relations and their constructive role in developing the European process.

Says Europe Borders To Stay Unchanged

AU2211104389 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 22 Nov 89 p 2

[Interview with Soviet Defense Minister Dimitriy Yazov by Elisabeth Heresch in Vienna: "All Borders in Europe Remain Unchanged"; date not given]

[Text] DIE PRESSE: What consequences will result from the situation in Poland, Hungary, and the GDR for the Warsaw Pact as a political and military alliance?

Yazov: The Warsaw Pact is an agreement among East European states on a joint defense policy. We make no territorial claims, and we do not plan to attack anybody. We do not intend to be the first ones to use nuclear weapons. As far as the process of democratization in some East European countries is concerned, the Soviet Union does not want to impede it. These are the internal affairs of every state. However, this does not mean that these countries must not adhere to the obligations that they have assumed within the Warsaw Pact—particularly concerning a common defense course. In this way, the Warsaw Pact will continue to function as a political union, as it did in the past.

DIE PRESSE: In Strasbourg, Gorbachev described his vision of a "common home" as an economic and social axis without barriers from the Atlantic to the Urals. Is this conceivable in military terms?

Yazov: Gorbachev certainly did not understand it this way. All borders in Europe will continue to exist the way they are now. What is important is that all countries from the Atlantic to the Urals agree on specific stipulations concerning the sphere of defense, concerning the number of tanks, aircraft, and weapons. This is being discussed at the Vienna disarmament talks, which are aimed at agreements that allow every country to have only such an amount of military material as it needs for its defense, and not for attack.

DIE PRESSE: What is your view concerning the military aspect of Austria's possible entry into the EC?

Yazov: First, I would like to reject a press statement that claimed we are indifferent to an Austrian entry into the EC. We believe that Austria's status as a neutral country is clearly defined in the State Treaty, and we believe that on the basis of these stipulations it will not be possible for Austria to join the EC. This would involve a joint basis for the settlement of political, economic, military, and other issues, and this would make it impossible for Austria to remain a neutral state. We are not opposed to Austria's seeking friends, but we are opposed to its joining a military community with other European states.

DIE PRESSE: What do you think about disarmament in parts of the world outside Europe—in the Antarctic or other regions with Soviet bases?

Yazov: The Soviet Union is no longer present anywhere—or can you tell me where it still maintains troops?

DIE PRESSE: What happens with the soldiers who have been removed everywhere?

Yazov: The soldiers are not really affected by that. We are reducing our Army by half a million men. However, this only means that the soldiers are not mobilized. The officers are not affected.

Gorbachev Talks With French, FRG Officials

PM2211102789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Suessmuth and L. Fabius"]

[Text] An unusual event occurred in the Kremlin 17 November: M.S. Gorbachev met with Rita Suessmuth, chairman of the FRG Bundestag, and Laurent Fabius, chairman of the French National Assembly, simultaneously. They came together, L. Fabius explained, because the FRG and France, which initiated the "building of Europe" at its first stage linked with West European integration, want to play an active role together in the incipient phase of deepening of the all-European process, which became possible owing to new Soviet foreign policy.

In the course of an open and multifaceted conversation, they broached fundamental questions of contemporary development in both East and West Europe, including, of course, perestroyka in the USSR and problems regarding the overall future of the continent's peoples. Both sides expressed profound satisfaction that the Helsinki process is gaining momentum and is becoming increasingly profound, thus creating the foundation for the historical resolution of difficult questions which the European continent inherited from the past. It was also said that answers can only be sought to these questions proceeding on the principles of unfailing respect for every people's rights, including their right to choose their own path of development with no outside pressure or attempts to influence the course of internal processes in particular states.

M.S. Gorbachev noted that relations in Europe developed abnormally in the recent past, in the postwar years, and had the air of wars of religion. Each side was prepared to destroy the other solely because it professed other views. But now, in conditions where realization of the community of our civilization and the priority of general human interests is gradually asserting itself everywhere, this period has fortunately come to an end.

Today both East and West are experiencing profound changes stemming from their realization of the demands of the time. As a result they have begun to move toward each other, while each side retains its identity. If these new trends are reflected adequately in policy and backed up, the world will become calmer and truly new relations may be established between people in line with their common interests.

Of course, it is hard to switch to such relations—all politicians currently in power in the East and the West are the children of their time and are all burdened by the old stereotypes. It is a very complex but extremely necessary task to escape from these stereotypes. We are also conscious of this within our country, in the course of perestroyka, which is above all a process of profound changes in peoples' consciousness.

The rates of change in the East clearly outstrip the requisite changes in the West. That is because some people there still harbor the vain hope that the processes within the socialist countries will allegedly result in their transition to Western values. But a hidebound approach to ideology must not impede realistic policy in interstate relations.

M.S. Gorbachev expressed agreement with L. Fabius' idea that the process of democratization must be combined with the preservation of stability. Otherwise things will descend to anarchy. The changes, the Soviet leader underlined, also contain profoundly positive principles but bring a mass of scum to the surface. Stability will be ensured if we promote all the positive elements and rid ourselves of the scum, both within individual countries and in world affairs.

On behalf of the FRG Government, R. Suessmuth said the following: In the opinion of leading circles in Bonn, there is no alternative to European cooperation and a peaceful order in Europe. It is important for all countries (including the GDR and the FRG) to meet one another halfway and learn from one another, but not attempt to foist their customs on their partners.

The European community as a whole is interested in the success of the perestroyka processes in the USSR and other countries in socialist East Europe, the chairman of the FRG Bundestag stated. Expressing his agreement with this idea, the chairman of the French National Assembly spoke about the French leadership's endeavor to facilitate the positive development of the process of transformations in the Soviet Union.

The participants in the conversation expressed readiness to deepen and broaden equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation between the FRG and France on the one hand and the USSR on the other.

To conclude the conversation M.S. Gorbachev expressed satisfaction with the meeting between representatives of three countries on whose activeness and purposefulness the prospects for the all-European process largely depend.

K. Blech, FRG ambassador to the USSR, and J.-M. Merillon, French ambassador to the USSR, took part in the meeting, along with Ye.M. Primakov, R.N. Nishanov, and V.V. Zagladin on the Soviet side.

Rogachev, French Official View Asian Issues

PM1711151189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS "Official Announcement"]

[Text] On 13 November USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev received C. Martin, director of the French Foreign Ministry Asia and Oceania Department, who is in Moscow in connection with French Foreign Minister R. Dumas' official visit to the Soviet Union, and had a conversation with him on topical issues pertaining to the situation in Asia.

PCF Delegation Visits CPSU 13-19 Nov

LD1911172389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1005 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 19 Nov (TASS)—From 13 November to 19 November a delegation of secretaries of the Federation of the French Communist Party [PCF], led by Henri Martin, PCF Central Committee member, was in the Soviet Union on the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Familiarizing themselves with how perestroyka is proceeding, the French Communists had talks in the party building and Cadre Work Department and the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Central Trades Union Council [AUCCTU], the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, and the Institute of Social Research under the AUCCTU. Members of the delegation visited Volgograd, where they met working people of the industrial and agricultural enterprises of the oblast and CPSU, and trades union activists.

Gorbachev Preface to Book's Italian Edition

LD2111181689 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Rome November 21 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's book, a "Common European Home," has been realeased in Italian by Italy's leading publishing firm Mondadori together with the NOVOSTI press agency on the eve of his visit to Italy.

The book includes Gorbachev's interviews, speeches and articles and has provoked lively interest in Italy.

The book opens up with Gorbachev's address to the Italian readers.

"I am amazed at how quickly and radically everything is changing in the world at the end of the 1980's," Gorbachev writes. "Much of what only one or two years ago seemed practically impossible in Europe has become either a reality or is on the agenda of the current political work.

"A whole class of nuclear weapons is being eliminated. An agreement on a radical cut in conventional arms and armed forces will apparently be concluded next year.

"Contacts between European countries have now acquired an unprecedented diversity and intensity.

"In short, Europe is taking confident strides towards overcoming hostility, division and confrontation. There are grounds to hope that the age symbolised by the 'Iron Curtain' is now being replaced by an age symbolised by a 'Common European Home'."

"I think this has become possible primarily because a sober view of the world has finally come to prevail. People have become aware of its growing integration and of the inter-dependence of various countries. They have begun to realise the vital importance of universal human values.

"Secondly, Europeans, just like people on other continents, have come to value time, being increasingly aware that if we want to save civilisation and life on earth, we need to readjust ourselves to new kinds of relations, new norms and regulations and get rid of the cold-war legacy quicker.

"Within a short period Europe has gained valuable experience that we Europeans, and not only we, should not forget. It is instructive and may serve as a source of realistic optimism.

"However great the difficulties, contradictions and threats that still bear heavily on all of us, they are surmountable. This has been proven by the recent history of European and international relations, which has to a certain extent also found reflection in this book," Gorbachev writes.

He expressed hope that his visit to Italy "will bring Soviet and Italian peoples still closer together, broaden and deepen contacts and cooperation between our two countries, and will contribute to securing that the Soviet-Italian factor serves mankind still better."

La Scala Opera Tour Recriminations Answered

PM1611111989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[P. Golub article: "Stage Success and Incidents Behind the Scenes"]

[Text] An AFP report from Milan forces us to return to the behind-the-scenes events of the recent guest performances in our country of Milan's renowned La Scala Theater (the first article on this theme was published in IZVESTIYA No 303). The AFP report cites the statements of a number of leading figures from La Scala on the unsatisfactory organization of their tour and the conditions to which the Italian opera "stars" were subjected during their stay in the USSR. These do not stand up to a critical appraisal. "We were boycotted from beginning to end," Sergio Escobar, the theater's assistant

director general, claims. "We came up against a truly criminal organization. They made the trucks with our props disappear just as they were about to be unloaded. The biggest scandal was that in order to get any of the conditions of our contract implemented, we were forced to hand out big gratuities."

The remarks of Federico Rispoli, the theater administration's secretary general, are just as categorical: "The corruption was so shameless that it bordered on blackmail. Everytime we managed to surmount some obstacle, we could be sure to run into the same problem the next day."

Raul Farolfi, La Scala's stage manager, also assessed the lack of organization on the part of the hosts as a deliberate boycott. "We became the victims of the merciless war which the Bolshoy Theater and the State Concert Association are waging against each other. The theater is seeking economic independence and the State Concert Association is doing everything it can to discredit the theater."

Carlo Badini, La Scala's director general, also draws serious conclusions from the trip: "We got bogged down in the chaotic bureaucratic jungle because those who are resisting Gorbachev's changes are still strong both in the theater world and in the world of politics. I told the director of the Bolshoy Theater: You must rid yourself of the bureaucratic yoke. The future of our cooperation depends on this."

You will agree that after the unconditional success of the guest performances of the renowned Italian theater, utterances of this kind on the part of the La Scala leaders give rise to conflicting sentiments. But let us hear out the "other side."

We have asked V.M. Kokonin, director general of the USSR Bolshoy Theater, for his opinion of the Italian theater leaders' statements.

[Kokonin] I am aware of these feelings among the leadership of La Scala. Most unfortunately, their assessment of the shortcomings in the organization of the guest performances is not that far from the truth. It is enough to say that to the very last moment, the visit of the Italian troupe was hanging by a thread. At the State Concert Association, despite our repeated requests, no one was taking any action (although this was a matter of a tour by 550 world opera "stars") not even a working group was set up, nothing. Hence the numerous "hitches" with hotel accommodations, transport, and delivery of equipment. In my opinion, the State Concert Association should accept responsibility for the organizational shortcomings. This is simply no way to organize guest performances by La Scala. In my opinion preparations should take at least a year, yet here everything was decided at the last minute.

I believe that we have left the guests from Milan with a most unfavorable impression from the visit to our country. The La Scala artistic director has only just presented me with a whole list of complaints from artists about the utterly unceremonious treatment to which their luggage was subjected on departure from the USSR during which part of their equipment was damaged, including a priceless Amati violin.

It is most disagreeable to us that our Italian partners have formed the impression that they ran into a boycott and a "mafia" in our country. Therefore we have agreed with Carlo Badini that next time we will organize the guest performances ourselves. So far the Bolshoy Theater does not dispose of the necessary services and facilities.

Now here is what V.V. Panchenko, director of the USSR State Concert Association, has to say:

[Panchenko] We are also aware of the statements made by the La Scala leaders. I will not claim that from the viewpoint of organization everything went swimmingly. No, there were "hitches" both as regards accommodation and provision of transport, and, unfortunately there were also cases of extortion of gratuities from the foreigners on the part of the service personnel. I agree that there were many shortcomings, but the guests from Milan are not in the right as regards everything. It is a fact that on departure from the Soviet Union a large number of objects, whose export is prohibited, were found in the luggage by our customs men and that these objects were confiscated. These actions outraged some of the Italians.

And finally we let O.A. Guryanov, deputy chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for State Customs Control, have his say:

We knew in advance about the depature of the La Scala ensemble from Moscow and we prepared for it: We met with the leadership of the Milan theater and the State Concert Associations, briefed them on the special customs regulations features, and asked customs officials to show maximum respect, fairness, and tact for the opera "stars." This is quite normal since around 1,000 pieces of luggage and 8 tonnes of equipment were passing across the border.

During the customs inspections we paid paramount attention to the observance of generally accepted norms of ensuring the safety air transport. However, during routine inspections with the help of x-ray equipment 103 Russian icons, 38.5 kg of caviar and around 250 watches were discovered in the baggage of the La Scala ensemble 4 November. Let me recall that by decision of the government, the export of caviar is banned and icons can be exported only with the special permission of the Ministry of Culture. The export of watches from our country is not banned, but in the case of batches of goods of this kind special customs documentation is needed. We invited the leadership of La Scala and the State Concert Association, explained the situation to them, and then we confiscated the goods.

Furthermore we discovered a large quantity of antique objects in the company's luggage, old books, and around

200 religious ritual objects which, on the assessment of representatives of the USSR Ministry of Culture, cannot be exported from the Soviet Union.

[Golub] What can you say about the damage to part of the equipment.

[Guryanov] Our staff handled the luggage of the La Scala company with special care and circumspection. They did not touch a single musical instrument and carried out only external inspection while the instrument was held by its owner. I would like to stress that no complaint about the actions of the customs officials was made on the spot.

We are perfectly well aware of the responsibility which attaches to our work. I believe that the tasks of the customs service of any country include the protection of the national assets. Therefore accusations against our customs officials of actions which exceed the framework of their professional duties, especially if these accusations come from members of Milan's La Scala company which we highly respect, seem incorrect to me.

These are some of the comments on the AFP report from Milan. The main thing is to ensure that the current incidents do not become an obstacle to the development of contacts between the Bolshoy Theater and Milan's La Scala, and between Soviet and Italian art in general.

Gorbachev Receives UK Envoy, Thatcher Letter

LD1711104189 Moscow TASS in English 1011 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev received in the Kremlin today the British Ambassador to the USSR, Rodric Braithwaite, who handed over to him a letter from Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Gorbachev and Braithwaite had a brief discussion of topical international issues.

PRAVDA Cites Thatcher Guildhall Speech

PM2111120689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 89 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "M. Thatcher's Speech"]

[Text] London, 14 Nov—"A great turning point in European history"—that is how British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher described the reforms and changes taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Speaking at a banquet organized by the lord mayor at the Guildhall, she stressed that these changes would have been impossible "without the courage, farsightedness, and boldness of President Gorbachev." Even a year ago no one could have imagined the scale and speed of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, Poland, and Hungary, and now in East Germany, too, she said. M. Thatcher stated that the West should give every support to these processes. "This is what we are doing in all our contacts with the Soviet Union under Mr Gorbachev, and also by giving practical assistance to Poland and Hungary. We cannot and must not allow their bold efforts not to succeed."

M. Thatcher repeated, however, her familiar thesis that times of change contain a particularly "great uncertainty and even danger." In this connection she once again called on the West not to abandon the policy and principles to which it adhered in the postwar years, and to strengthen in every way the West's military organization—the NATO bloc. "It is thanks to NATO that we are continuing to maintain peace by tried and tested means, while at the same time welcoming any step that would enable us to do this with a lower level of forces and armaments," she said.

Turkey's Ozal Thanks Gorbachev for Greetings

PM1711135989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev sent T. Ozal a congratulatory telegram in connection with his election as Turkish president. The telegram expresses the confidence that the fruitful and mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet Union and Turkey will continue to be based on genuine good-neighborliness, the new political thinking, and constructive dialogue.

T. Ozal's reply telegram contains gratitude for the congratulations and shares M.S. Gorbachev's conviction that further progress in developing Soviet-Turkish relations will contribute to the strengthening of peace in the region, in Europe, and worldwide. T. Ozal conveyed his wishes for happiness and prosperity for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama Delegation Signs Trade Pact With USSR

PA2011221189 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 1726 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] The Panamanian Government delegation that paid an official visit to the USSR has achieved positive results. The delegation included Planning and Economic Policy Minister Gustavo Gonzalez, Commerce and Industries Minister Elmo Martinez Blanco, Rafael Mezquita, and Carlos Jimenez. They went to the USSR with ideas of opening new international markets for the country in order to cope with the ferocious U.S. Government's economic aggression.

A protocol was signed on 17 November in Moscow that includes the agreements reached during the talks between the Panamanian representatives and the officials of the USSR Foreign Economic Relations Ministry following 4 days of meetings with organizations of the Soviet state, promoting and marketing enterprises, and

banks that operate in the international market, as well as with Soviet Chamber of Commerce officials.

The agreement includes the final arrangements for the installation of a permanent Panamanian commercial representation in the USSR that will begin operations before the end of 1989, and a commercial aviation agreement—which will be signed as soon as possible—that will benefit airlines from the two nations.

It was also announced that a Soviet technical delegation will travel to Panama early in 1990 to conclude with the Panamanian authorities the implementation of investment projects for infrastructural works and a cargo services and transshipment center for the Soviet fishing fleet.

Meanwhile, the Bank for External Transactions of the USSR is studying the possibility of joining the Panama banking center, and will shortly send financial and legal experts to Panama.

FMLN Notes U.S. Military Role in El Salvador

PM2111085989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Fighting in El Salvador. U.S. Pilots Are Involved"]

[Text] Havana, 18 Nov—The main command of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] has expressed serious concern at the direct U.S. interference in the Salvadoran conflict. On Friday the northern quarters of the country's capital San Salvador were once again subjected to massive bombardments by military aircraft in which U.S. pilots took part, a report from the insurgent "Venceremos" radio station says. According to FMLN intelligence data, U.S. pilots arrived in El Salvador on 13 November and are taking part in combat operations conducted by Army subunits in densely populated quarters of the capital.

Approximately 500 homes in the capital's Sakamil [name as transliterated] quarter were destroyed as a result of bomb strikes and missile bombardment by Salvadoran aircraft, journalists accredited in this country reported over the telephone. They attest that the Salvadoran Air Force is using missiles and, probably, napalm.

Malmierca Notes Cuban, Albanian Views Similar

PM1611143989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA-TASS report under "Breaking News" rubric: "Satisfied With Results"]

[Text] Nov 13—Cuban Foreign Minister I. Malmierca is satisfied with the results of his visit to Albania. In the course of the visit, he stated, the coincidence of Cuban and Albanian viewpoints on international problems, in particular with regard to the situation in Central America and in the south of Africa, was confirmed. The sides discussed the threats toward Nicaragua, interference in Salvadoran and Panamanian internal affairs, and attempts on the sovereignty of other states in the region. Cuba's foreign minister indicated the great significance of the agreement signed in Tirana on economic cooperation, which provides for the creation of a combined intergovernmental commission.

Ecuadoran Delegation Visits 30 Oct-11 Nov

PM1511111789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Guests of CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, a delegation from the ruling Democratic Left Party of Ecuador visited the Soviet Union 30 October through 11 November. The guests visited Moscow, Minsk, and Leningrad. There were conversations at the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

Supreme Soviet Session

Further on 20 Nov Supreme Soviet Session

Advadze on Nature of Federal System

LD2111103189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Speech by Deputy Valerian Sergeyevich Advadze from recorded relay of 20 November afternoon session of Supreme Soviet held in the Kremlin]

[Text] As the esteemed deputies know, I read the report on behalf of the commission when we discussed this draft, the first variant. It was 16 October, about a month ago. Remarks of an important nature were expressed there and of course you are interested in what was taken into account in that new draft, and as a whole whether anything was taken into account from those important remarks. I must tell you that the most important remarks were taken into account. Essentially, so to speak, what has been added there is that here it is not only the republic which figure, but also the autonomous republics. In our commission we discussed this matter and considered that there should be a separate law on republics and a separate one on autonomous republics. But if they have added the autonomous republic there, then it probably ought to follow...that is, they have put union republics on an equal footing, so what have autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs done wrong? And if they are all united, Leonid Ivanovich, doesn't it turn out that—we have indeed already mentioned the phrase here—we are going along the road to reviving Stalin's autonomization? I think that we do need to have a think about this.

Further, about broadening the rights, or giving economic independence: this is an important question. There was talk about this. So far there remains the broadening of rights, and I said then, and I say now, that the mood of the times is not felt here—this is about development in our country. Take a look: even Namibia has received independence, independence, but here we are talking not about political and economic independence of the union republics, but also about economic independence. Independence, not dependence, but we do not want to grant this economic independence.

Another question of principle: How to determine from above what is handed over to the republics, or the republics themselves must delegate their own rights themselves. This is also a question of principle. It has also not been resolved. It also remains as before, in this respect, and there will be conflicts, because...for example, I personally am tranquil. As a matter of fact, a couple of days ago the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR adopted important amendments to the constitution, and it is defined here—if a union law encroaches upon the interests of the republic, then that law will not be in force on the territory of our republic—that is, we will not accept such laws which...their action will be halted on the territories of the republic. And where is agreement? And here without fail questions also arose, and questions arise about federation or confederation, and the fear that will this not lead to the break-up of the union, and here I recall the words of a hero in a novel by a Western author, who said: If we want everything to remain as it is, everything must change. That is, we have to change everything so that the union should not break up, in new conditions, and often people say, mentioning that in the West they unite in the Common Market, while we shut ourselves up in our families. But who unites in the West? Sovereign and free states unite, that's one thing. And they unite voluntarily, that's the second thing. We do not have either the one or the other. Let's voluntarily create our union to be such that all republics will be happy to live in it. [applause]

Fotov on Media 'Conflicts'

LD2111103989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Speech by Vendimir Konstantinovich Fotdov from recorded relay of 20 November afternoon session of Supreme Soviet held in the Kremlin]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies. I have asked to speak in order to state the following on behalf of the Committee on Issues of Glasnost, Rights, and Appeals of Citizens. Lately, a number of editorial collectives has appealed to the committee, our committee, among whom concern is being expressed over the fate of their editors. I could name, for a start, the Noginsk town paper ZNAMYA KOMMUNIZMA, the weekly KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE, the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, the OKTYABR journal, and certain others. The list of them could be continued. And, everywhere, editorial collectives are trying to protect their editors.

Today, evidently, without attempting to give an in-depth analysis of the conflicts which have emerged in relationships between founders, publishers, and editors, I would like to say that we have come up against the very matter which we want to resolve in the law on the press, and specifically, the unregulated nature of judicial relations in the chain founder-publisher-editor. Today, we can speak about a certain, or rather a definite, legal vulnerability of our editors. And, at the same time, we can also say the rights of publishers and founders have an altogether [word indistinct] in the legal sense and their rights and mutual responsibility together with editors are not recognized at all.

Therefore, I would like the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to support our request for the law on the press to be submitted for examination in the first reading.

The second point: I would like to draw attention to the fact that lately, because of such appeals made by editorial collectives, and because, you heard today that a number of deputies are already beginning to say that glasnost is being stifled—it seems to me that such remarks are hardly relevant at the USSR Supreme Soviet. And they are saying that, the impression is being

created that some kind of pressure is beginning to be put on the mass media, and they connect this with the meeting held recently at the party Central Committee, or to be precise on 13 October of this year, a meeting held with the heads of the mass media. All the critical remarks that were expressed at it, and were no doubt expressed, have begun to be transformed into great conjectures and rumors. Why? Because the material on this meeting was not published. And, today, I would like to appeal from this high platform to the organizers of this meeting to set forth at least the basis, and perhaps the essence of the conversation which took place there in order to totally eliminate these, so to speak, rumors and conjectures.

At the same time, I would like today to object categorically to the conversations taking place at the moment, in particular, about, as I have already said, the stifling of glasnost. Another example was Comrade Afanasyev who spoke at our committee—we invited him at his request, he asked to speak to us. It seems to me that they are irrelevant. They have no basis. I think probably one cannot speak about this, on the basis of one or two cases which, moreover, coincided about the screws being tightened or about any other aspects.

I would like to say this. This is my personal view, my personal view and not the view of the committee. We have now come to a situation where certain sections of the mass media—and I say this on the basis of my conversations with the leadership of the editorial board of KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIY, and our colleagues also went to Noginsk to investigate the conflict there—it seems to me are losing a sense of moderation to a certain extent. How is this manifested? They have lost their self-critical approach to their own work and they regard even substantiated reproofs against them as encroachments on the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and so on and so forth.

Therefore, today, again returning to the essence of what I began talking about, we must adopt a law on the press, which will, so to speak, dot the i's. Although I should say straightaway that the working commission comprising the Committee on Issues of Legislation and our Committee on Issues of Glasnost and let through certain inaccuracies in the presentation of the draft law to the Supreme Soviet, in the sense that we did not present it within the time-limit set in the regulations. I would like to assure the Supreme Soviet that we will eliminate this inaccuracy literally in a few hours and will present the draft law on the press to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Thank you for your attention.

Gritsenko on State Affairs

LD2111113989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2044 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Speech by Deputy Nikolay Gritsenko from recorded relay of 20 November afternoon session of USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrade deputies: On the instructions of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Commission on Labor, Prices, and Social Policy, the Commission on Planning, Budget, and Finance, the Commission on Consumer Goods Trade, Municipal, and other services, with the partipation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU], the People's Control Committee, and the State Committee on Prices, and on the basis of the report by Comrade Abalkin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, have thoroughly studied and discussed the presented projected, and instructed me to report to you on the course of the discussion and on its results. [passage omitted: recapping the background to the examination of the statement of the AUCCTU on price rises, goods shortages, and the Soviet people's living standards on 26 September which instructed commissions and committees to examine the statement and make relevant proposals]

What has a check on the state of affairs shown? A runaway process of retail price rises is underway in the country which is expressed in the direct rise in the prices of many produced artifacts, removal from the market of cheap ranges of goods, and prices rising more rapidly than quality. Furthermore, the check we carried out shows that the measures mapped out by the goverment to control prices, to protect the population from any unjustified price rises, and to restrict inflationary processes are not being implemented satifactorily. Up to date, no success has been gained in normalizing the situation on the consumer market and stabilizing retail prices for consumer goods. An immoderate rise in prices has led to a situation where the growth in output of light industry goods outstrips two- or three-fold, in value terms, the growth of manufacture of goods in kind. This situation is to a large extent due to wide use of extra charges on top of the permanent retail prices. The majority of enterprises take advantage of the shortage of many goods which has arisen, frequently setting prices with a price supplement of up to 30 percent of N-code goods, essentialy without improving manufacturing quality; and setting prices of D-code goods according to contract prices without any restriction on the price supplement.

During the January-August period, there was a general increase of 4.6 percent in light industry goods, in terms of value; at the same time, the manufacture of goods at contract prices increased 28.6 percent. As a result, the proportion of expensive goods amounted to 41.5 percent of the total volume of output. All this led to curtailing and removing cheap goods from the ranges produced, which has considerably affected supplies of subsidized goods for children and the elderly. Since the beginning of this year, there has been a shortfall of R2.3 billion in the target for manufacture of goods at accessible prices, without supplements, by light industry enterprises.

In our view, the State Committee for Prices has failed to fulfill the government decision on restricting the amount of price supplements on N-code goods, which was set as up to 15 percent instead of 30 percent; its effectiveness

has been extended until 1990 on many types of goods. The failure on the part of this committee and of ministries and departments to supervise this has led to enterprises setting temporary contractual prices on goods, without any economic justification and without any account being taken of the real production costs. Where this is justified, then, of course, no one should object, so as not to restrain technical progress; but where it is unjustified and unconnected with production costs, there should be strict supervision, for essentially, it enables economic incentive funds to be increased undeservedly and enables people to receive what is essentially unearned income.

At the same time, during the check it was discovered that there is an extreme shortage of really fashionable, high-quality goods. Many of them do not differ from mass-production ranges. Furthermore, high temporary contractual prices are often set on law-quality goods which have substantial manufacturing defects. As a consequence, a large quantity of these goods are rejected. Things have reached the stage where Gosplan, the State Committee for Prices, the Ministry of Trade, and the former Ministry of Light Industry, in conjunction with the USSR Committee for Standards have permitted enterprises to output a grade-2 category of high-quality N-code goods.

USSR State Committee for Standards and Ministry of Trade state inspection bodies rarely apply the economic sanctions provided for in the Law on State Enterprise against enterprises which manufacture poor-quality goods. The practice of illegal sales of certain types of agricultural goods, in particular meat and meat products, from state stocks through shops of the Tsentrosoyuz network, at inflated cooperative prices, has not been stopped.

In the first half-year period, for example, 89,000 tonnes of sausage items were sold at such prices, which comes to more than 30 percent of the entire volume of sales of such items. Tins of stewed beef are sold here at prices which are 2.4 times higher than the state price, and tins of ham at prices twice as high. [passage omitted: many foodstuffs today have a price which was established back in 1947]

Higher retail prices are being applied without justification to certain types of goods which are marketed in rural trade, the trade network, in comparison with town prices. [passage omitted: retail prices for arts literature have on average increased 67 percent; political literature by 64 percent; technical literature by 83 percent; tickets for the theater, concerts, cinema, and museums have increased significantly in price in recent years]

All of these price rises are being taken by the population as a direct increase in prices. We think that Goskomtsen and its local bodies have not taken decisive measures to perfect work in the sphere of price formation with regard to the new conditions of management. The procedure for the establishment of retail prices on new consumer goods has not been reviewed. The creation of a single statewide system for monitoring prices is being dragged out. Up to this point in time the situation regarding monitoring the observance of state discipline on prices in the national economy has not been confirmed. Work is being conducted in an unsatisfactory manner to bring state price inspectorates up to strength with specialists, although 6,500 units [as heard] have been allocated to them for this.

In our view price-forming bodies have a conciliatory attitude to the processes which are taking place of off-loading cheap-variety goods. [passage omitted: they haven't yet become a reliable barrier against unjustified price rises, although things have lately moved for the better]

Well I think that Gozkomtsen will give you a report about this. As for consumer goods, our check—I repeat—has convinced us of the need to adopt urgent measures in order to protect the consumer from an unjustified price rise. [passage omitted: quoting 10 October Supreme Soviet decision which entrusted the Council of Ministers to present by 1 November a proposal on price increases and defense of the consumer; he recalls work done in that connection]

On 1 November, the Council of Ministers submitted its proposals, but there was a break in the work of the Supreme Soviet in connection with the November festivities, and therefore, on 10 November, the Supreme Soviet Presidium considered this question and instructed our commissions to give a conclusion. On 16 November we considered this question in a joint meeting of three commissions, very carefully, as I have already reported, with the participation...in accordance with the report of the Council of Ministers. Seventeen deputies spoke during the discussion in one way or another. [passage omitted: lists some of the names of those who spoke; goes into some of the issues raised and discussed]

The question was also raised about increasing prices for bread and meats, on which the peasants expend enormous efforts. But at the commission, the deputies and the government, and the AUCCTU and the people's control committee expressed the firm view not to go for a rise in retail prices on these and other everyday goods, but at the same time it was proposed that the government should establish a system to monitor the well-founded nature of prices for equipment and fertilizers which are delivered to the countryside. [passage omitted: one deputy suggested, along with stable prices for goods for the young and elderly, that poor people be given subsidies from the beginning of 1990; after much discussion the deputies decided to approve the draft, seeing it as a forced but essential measure for 1990, and to recommend to the Supreme Soviet that it be adopted; Deputy Zhuravlev said the government should set up an information system which would make it possible to anticipate the situation on the consumer market]

Moscow TV Airs 21 Nov Supreme Soviet Proceedings

1600 GMT

LD2111175689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT, on 21 November, begins to carry a recording of the Supreme Soviet session on 21 November, at the Kremlin in Moscow. The morning session is chaired by Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Lukyanov welcomes the deputies and calls for registration. There are 434 present. Lukyanov gives a report on the progress of various draft laws and then outlines the agenda for the day.

At 1606 GMT, Yengeniy Primakov outlines the draft regulations for the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet. He details the various amendments proposed by deputies. He mentions some of the proposals that have been found unacceptable for various reasons, on the need for unanimous acceptance of laws by all the republics, for example. He says that such a complicated document could well have some omissions which can be rectified later; further suggestions are welcome.

At 1626 GMT, Lukyanov asks for questions.

At 1627 GMT, Ambartsumyan asks about republican Supreme Soviet chairmens' membership of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This will be ex officio.

At 1629 GMT, Dudko of the committee for the Work of People's Deputies calls for changes in the operation of the Presidium. She suggests detailed amendments to various articles.

At 1635 GMT, Sebentsov of the Legislation and Legality Committee discusses ways to defend the rights of minorities and a procedure for the rotation of deputies.

At 1641 GMT, Amonashvili of the Science, Education and Culture Committee says that the republican languages should be recognized as working languages of the Supreme Soviet.

At 1645 GMT, Yablokov of the ecology committee says that many of the committee's suggestions have been included, but he mentions some that have not but should have been, including the committees' rights to full information.

At 1648 GMT, Boyars of the Nationalities Committee says that a confederation is not a bad thing. He says that republics should have the right to be heard on every issue. He suggests ways of showing deputies at the rostrum how long they have left for their speeches. He makes various other detailed suggestions for equipment to monitor voting.

At 1700 GMT, the announcer says there will be a 15-minute break.

1715 GMT

LD2111182289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1715 GMT resumes its recordings of the Supreme Soviet session on 21 November. Nazarenko praises the draft document but suggests various amendments. There should be a mechanism for holding referendums to resolve conflicts whose losers would then resign, a mechanism to punish obdurate officials.

At 1720 GMT, Konev suggests ways of defending the rights of minorities in disagreements in the Supreme Soviet. He raises the question of the Gdlyan commission and ensuring its full discussion.

At 1724 GMT, Baleshev discusses the procedure for the rotation of deputies.

At 1732 GMT, Stankevich talks of the importance of the Supreme Soviet procedural regulations. He says that there should be room for both conservatives and radicals, and that there should not be mass resignations after the referendum as suggested by a previous speaker.

At 1740 GMT, Gryazin says that deputies should not fear to use the word "opposition" and the rights of a parliamentary opposition should be guaranteed. The Soviet of nationalities should have consensus voting.

At 1746 GMT, N.N. Medvedev says that deputies' rotation should be decided by the republics. Referenda should not be allowed to oppress minorities. There should be a procedure for changing the session chairman.

At 1751 GMT, B.N. Nikolskiy of the Glasnost Committee mentions the role of the media on this issue.

At 1754 GMT, Kim makes a proposal on opening quorums.

At 1758 GMT, Golovnev of the Committee for the Work of Soviets says that some points of the draft contradict the Constitution on recall of deputies.

At 1803 GMT, Sharipov supports the use of Russian as the working language.

At 1807 GMT, There is a half-minute break in audio reception.

At 1809 GMT, Lukyanov proposes ending the debate after two more speakers: 358 for, 7 against, 7 abstain.

He then announces a 20-minute interval, and the recording of the afternoon session follows immediately.

1811 GMT

LD2111204389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1811 GMT continues its recording of the Supreme Soviet session on 21 November. The afternoon session is chaired by Lukyanov.

At 1812 GMT, Borodin of Public Health Committee talks of the importance of the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions, saying that these must be given serious consideration in the rules on rotation of deputies. Members of committees and commissions should also be subject to rotation. These bodies should have a definite staff.

At 1819 GMT, Lubenchenko of the Legislation Committee talks about rules on deputies' conduct and procedures. He supports the use of Russian as the working language. He says that the Presidium should remain the highest body and that the apparatus should not be given too much power. He discusses other proposals made in the debate.

At 1831 GMT, Primakov sums up the debate and the suggestions that have been made by the various speakers, agreeing with some and disagreeing with others. On the proposal that radicals and conservatives are needed Primakov says that some are not needed if they exploit difficulties. He continues to sum up the issues raised in the debate. He replies briefly to some questions on the subject of the debate which have been submitted in writing. He suggests adopting the current document for further improvement before the congress, or else it could be discussed again tomorrow.

At 1858 GMT, a deputy says that alternative versions of articles should be voted on individually. Primakov says that the draft is too long for that. A deputy makes a suggestion on the working language issue. Another deputy raises the issue of rotation again. Lubenchenko responds.

At 1905 GMT, Lopatin makes a suggestion from the floor on rotation.

At 1909 GMT, Lukyanov gives an account of the number of decisions reached to illustrate how much work has been done. Deputy Smirnov requests clarification on procedural points.

At 1912 GMT, Lukyanov puts the draft to the vote, first asking for registration: 412 deputies register; 393 for; 10 against; 5 abstentions. The draft is adopted. Lukyanov then asks Nishanov to speak. He introduces drafts concerning the status of USSR people's deputies.

At 1920 GMT, Nishanov outlines some of the innovations in the draft on the status, such as that a deputy can be released from production or official duties for the period necessary to fulfill his or her duties as a deputy, a privilege that previously applied only to members of the Supreme Soviet. As he lists sections and clauses, restless deputies are called to order.

At 1932 GMT, Nishanov speaks about what should be considered the mandate of the people's deputies. He notes the parameters which might surround the possible recall of a people's deputy, and notes suggestions about who should have the right to instigate recall procedures. A conference of voters has been suggested. Another suggestion has been on the basis of a petition.

At 1945 GMT, Lukyanov announces an interval until 1600 Moscow Time [1300 GMT]. The recording of the evening session follows immediately.

1947 GMT

LD2111221689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1947 GMT continues its recording of the Supreme Soviet session on 21 November. The evening session is chaired by Lukyanov.

Lukyanov asks the deputies to register. There are 411 present. He notes that Gubenko has been proposed as minister of culture.

At 1949 GMT, Gubenko at the rostrum explains his view of the duties of minister of culture. Ryzhkov is shown, listening to Gubenko.

Gubenko speaks of the importance of ethnic cultures but notes there is a role for all-Union cultural measures. He calls for culture to be given reasonable priority and funds. Artistic collectives should be given the right to perform where they wish. Libraries should be given the necessary funds, including foreign currency. Facilities must be improved in rural areas.

Gubenko discusses the sources of funds for culture, saying that state donations are essential. The new conditions have opened up new opportunities for culture, he concludes.

At 2007 GMT, a deputy calls for the vote.

At 2009 GMT, Lukyanov calls for a vote on Gubenko's candidature. The result is 377 for, 8 against, 9 abstain.

At 2011 GMT, a deputy complains about the closing of the Lenin library and calls on the new minister to take urgent measures.

At 2015 GMT, Luchenok calls for professionals to be engaged in running culture. Oleynik calls for national repertoires for the union republics. In the effort for financial autonomy some collectives are presenting plays with too many intimate details.

At 2020 GMT, Andreyeva says that art should be nurtured and culture created. Deputies with arts connections express their proposals and good wishes.

At 2029 GMT, Lukyanov returns to the agenda: the status of peoples deputies.

At 2030 GMT, Ginzburg talks about the deputy's right to resign; this right should be stated in the rules. He says he is a delegate from a public organization but believes that there should be no such deputies in the future; however, they should remain until the next election.

At 2025 GMT, Lukyanov says that 32 people have applied to speak. Speakers should be restricted to complaints and specific proposals.

At 2037 GMT, Prokushev from the Committee on the Work of Soviets talks about instructions to deputies.

At 2041 GMT, Boyars says that the three drafts should be rewritten as one compact draft. Moreover, his national group believes that the law should concern only USSR deputies, with republics deciding their own regulations. He calls for deputies to be protected from provocations by law enforcement organs.

At 2047 GMT, Shekhovtsov discusses the procedures for recalling deputies.

At 2053 GMT, Yastrebov speaks about deputies' rights.

At 2058 GMT, Prudnikov says that deputies should undergo an annual vote of confidence from their voters. Reshetova says that the law on recall of deputies must be easily understood, whereas the current version is not.

At 2106 GMT, Mokanu speaks about instructions to deputies and ways of coordinating them.

2100 GMT

LD2111230989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2100 GMT continues its recording of the Supreme Soviet session on 21 November. Menteshashvili makes proposals about various articles of the drafts.

At 2118 GMT, Bisher discusses the difference between the working conditions of a rural soviet deputy and a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy and suggests that this difference be reflected in the law. He submits proposals on various articles.

At 2124 GMT, Karyagin says that the status of deputies is a vital issue. Deputies should have transport privileges.

At 2131 GMT, Boldyrev discusses the law on recall of deputies.

At 2138 GMT, Ryabchenko says the draft on deputies' status should only be recommended to the republic and not be imposed.

At 2143 GMT, Lukyanov says thah there are still 22 deputies waiting to speak and asks what is to be done.

At 2144 GMT, Kudrin requests the right to speak. He complains that in the absence of a law on deputies' status the party apparatchiks continue to carry out attacks on his good name. He calls on the Politburo to follow the example of the GDR in their handling of matters.

At 2149 GMT, a deputy calls for the debate to be continued after an interval. Another deputy suggests continuing tomorrow. Lukyanov says that tomorrow the question of leasing is to be debated. He suggests holding a meeting on Saturday, 25 November, to continue the debate.

At 2153 GMT, deputies support a proposal to hold a 2-hour meeting on Saturday morning. The law on status must be ready before the congress. The others can wait.

At 2156 GMT, Nishanov says that Saturday might be needed for other issues; some votes could be taken now. A deputy proposes voting by articles on the draft.

At 2159 GMT, Lukyanov says that on Friday the question could be decided of continuing the session. One deputy says that business must be completed. Another says that the committees' work will be interfered with by further sessions.

At 2201 GMT, Lukyanov says he will take advice on how long the session can be continued. It may be possible to meet for 2-3 days next week. Lukyanov proposes compacting the drafts. A deputy objects. Another deputy proposes meeting for 3 days next week. Another deputy asks when various issues will be voted on.

At 2211 GMT, Lukyanov proposes not working on Saturday but meeting for 3 days next week. Lukyanov proposes voting on combining two of the drafts into one, the draft on instructions into the draft status: 337 for, 16 against, 13 abstain.

At 2216 GMT, the recording of the session ends.

Further on Supreme Soviet Proceedings 21 Nov

Congress, Regulations

LD2111140289 Moscow TASS in English 1325 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet Parliament today considered draft regulations concerning the work of the Congress of People's Deputies the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Along with the bills on the status of deputies and the procedures for recalling them, the document was discussed early in November and was then submitted for further editing.

Speakers at the first Congress of People's Deputies and the session of the Supreme Soviet said that the regulations governing the work of the previous parliament, convened for several days twice a year, were no longer suitable.

Presenting the bill today, Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Council of the Union, stressed that the document aims to enhance the efficiency of the lawmaking process and contains guarantees of the rights of union republics, national state entities, deputies' groups and individual parliamentarians.

Speakers at today's sitting proposed, specifically, that officials be held responsible for failure to provide full and authentic information to the deputies.

They stressed the need for a mechanism to regulate possible crisis situations in parliamentary work.

The Supreme Soviet approved the bill. To become law, it is to be adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies to begin work on December 12.

Culture Minister Nikolay Gubenko

LD2111162389 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—By TASS Parliamentary Correspondent:

A cinema and theatre actor and director has become the first professional in decades to serve as the country's minister of culture. Nikolay Gubenko, 48, was confirmed in the new position by the national legislature today.

The rare unanimity of the Supreme Soviet deputies (only eight votes were cast against his candidature) was in sharp contrast to last summer's hearings, when parliament rejected the prime minister's proposal to give this post to Vasiliy Zakharov.

In his statement Gubenko emphasised that his main task is to establish a climate favourable to creativity, provide culture with legal protection against officialdom and dismantle restrictions on creative work.

"The ministry should not allow or ban; it should expand the possibilities of workers in art," he stated.

Gubenko favoured transforming the Culture Ministry into an intellectual centre of the country's multiethnic culture. While backing the decentralisation of culture, he observed that hopes for broader sovereignty in republics should not lead to the isolation of their cultural traditions.

Gubenko prioritises the development of basic principles of Soviet legislation on culture and the humanisation of secondary and higher education.

Unwilling to make hasty promises, as he put it, Gubenko declared that it is possible to lead Soviet culture out of the current crisis, even though it will take time. The causes of this situation ai ery serious.

It is precisely the candidate's honesty, realism and competence that convinced the deputies that Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov had made the right choice.

The new member of the council of ministers began his artistic career in the 1960's at Moscow's Taganka Drama and Comedy Theatre, headed at that time by the talented director Yuriy Lyubimov.

Gubenko has served as the troupe's chief director over the past two years. He has also directed many feature films.

Primakov Address

LD2111131489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0930 GMT 21 November carries a 6-minute report by correspondent Gennadiy Kalenov on the 21 November proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin.

Kalenov begins by saying that Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov was chairing the session, and first of all he informed the deputies about the progress being made with draft laws. Yesterday, he said, the Committee on Glasnost, Human Rights, and Appeals of Citizens submitted an improved draft of the Press Law to the Supreme Soviet; it will be circulated among the deputies today, and it may be discussed in the next few days.

Today there will be debates on the draft law on the regulations for the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet; the draft law on the status of USSR people's deputies; the draft law on the procedure for recalling a USSR people's deputy; and the law on the mandates of USSR people's deputies. At 1600 the deputies will confirm a new minister of culture of the USSR.

Kalenov goes on to report that Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov then spoke on the first issue—the draft regulations for the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet. Kalenov cites Primakov as saying that regulations consolidate democracy and glasnost, without which true popular power is impossible. In the parliaments of various countries, regulations are worked out over years, decades, and centuries. The draft regulations are not going to be adopted by the Supreme Soviet, but rather, examined before they are submitted to the Congress of People's Deputies. The draft takes into account 140 comments on 7 of its articles, received from commissions, committees, and individual people's deputies.

In a recording of part of his remarks, Primakov continues: "The draft is based on the idea of the decisive role of committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the standing commissions of its chambers in the preparation and preliminary examination of draft laws which have been prepared and submitted. It is precisely they which must discuss various versions of legislative decisions and put forward conclusions on the adoption of amendments to them; and the more effective and active the work in the committees and commissions is, the more rapid and and high-quality the progress of work at the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet will be. We have already become fully convinced of this.

"The proposals by people's deputies on the procedure for examining amendments to a draft law have been implemented: The draft regulations stipulate two readings for a draft law. In the process of the first reading the basic

clauses of the draft law must be examined and approved, and proposals and comments for improving it must be voiced. In other words, the basis of the draft law's concept must be laid down, and the attitude to alternative drafts must also be expressed, if any are submitted.

"In the process of the second reading the further-elaborated draft must be examined article by article, as a rule. In this connection, the proposals by USSR people's deputies Comrades Sobchak, Krayko, and Ryabchenko have been implemented with regard to the specific features of the procedure for the second reading of a draft law, and for passing all proposals on it to the committees and commissions; Comrades Timasheva, Gryazin, and others. [as heard]

"Proposals have been taken into account with regard to the procedure for voting at the congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet, using an electronic vote-counting system. The proposals by Deputies Burbulis, Marchenko, Prudnikov, and others on voting by name have been implemented. Here I would like to say, comrades, that we will clearly have to further improve the work related to the new regulations. For instance, a number of deputies are raising issues which seem to me to have arisen in a very timely manner, about it being necessary for us to precisely define what a second reading is. Some deputies, Deputy Krayko in particular, consider that after a document has already been prepared for the second reading of a draft law in the committees and commissions, it must be obligatory for amendments to be sent there in a written form, and if the committees or commissions and the appointed chief committee do not adopt these amendments, they must provide an explanation with the motives for adopting them. And after that, when the draft law is submitted to us at the Supreme Soviet session for the second reading, the floor is given only to those—and only for a limited period of time—who are explaining the meaning of their amendment and asking for a vote on it, and only to those whose amendments have been turned down by the relevant committees and commissions. No second discussion is conducted that has already taken place previously in committees and commissions or at the first reading. Voting takes palce, with the floor being given to those comrades whose amendments were not adopted at the commissions and committees. It seems to me that this is an interesting idea, and it should be thought about, because we really have sensed from our own practice that this could very much ease our work, and speed it up without any loss in quality, so to speak."

Kalenov concludes that two representatives of Supreme Soviet committees made announcements on the same subject, and a debate on the draft laws began.

Parliament Procedure, Rights

LD2111185689 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet Parliament today considered a package of bills defining its own procedure and the rights of People's Deputies.

The package included a bill of procedure to regulate the work of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, a bill on the People's Deputy status and the procedure for recalling People's Deputies.

The bills were introduced to the Supreme Soviet on November 1 and were then returned to parliamentary commission for final corrections.

The first bill aims to raise the efficiency of law-making and guarantee the rights of the union republics, national-state entities, groups of deputies and individual members of parliament.

The Bill on the People's Deputy status lays the foundations for deputy activity. One of the deputies's new powers enables them to raise the question of no-confidence concerning state officials.

The bill on recalling People's Deputies has been completed for the first time in Soviet legal practice. It provides for recalling a People's Deputy if more than fifty per cent of the voters favour the action.

The Parliament also considered the Bill on Mandates to People's Deputies. It postulated the voters' highest priorities during the election campaign and the working out of the country's plan and budget.

During the discussion, it was proposed to include this provision in the law on the People's Deputy status. The Parliament supported the move.

The Supreme Soviet approved the Bill of Procedure for the Congress of People's deputies and voted to submit it for consideration to the Second Congress of People's Deputies scheduled to open on December 12.

The other bills in the package will be discussed next week.

The Soviet Parliament appointed actor and director Nikolay Gubenko, 48, as minister of culture of the Soviet Union. Gubenko is the first-ever professional artiste to fill the post.

The Supreme Soviet will continue work on Wednesday [22 November].

Primakov Chairs 22 Nov Supreme Soviet Session

LD2211072389 Moscow TASS in English 0717 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet Parliament gathered today for a joint sitting of its both houses to discuss bills on leasing and land which, once adopted, will form a legal basis for economic reform in the USSR.

The sitting is being chaired by Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Council of the Union.

Supreme Soviet Extends Session 2 Days

LD2211095189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet session resumed its work at 1000 today [0700 GMT]. At the beginning of the session the deputies decided to extend the present session by another 2 days; that is, to work also on Monday and Tuesday of next week. By the end of the session it is planned to examine the draft law on the press, on economic independence of the Baltic republics, on the status of people's deputy, and on the procedure of deputies' recall. The question of amnesty for servicemen from the contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan who committed crimes and some other questions will also be on the agenda.

The draft principles on leasing have now been submitted for discussion at the session. Deputy Bunich, deputy chairman of the Committee for Economic Reform, is delivering a report. He noted that the main objective of this document is to revive people's interest in labor.

Supreme Soviet Statement on Nehru

PM2111121089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

["USSR Supreme Soviet Statement"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] In connection with the centennial, now being marked, of the birth of the Indian people's outstanding son Jawaharlal Nehru, the USSR Supreme Soviet pays tribute to the prominent leader of the Indian national liberation movement, humanist, and tireless champion of the creation of a democratic and nonviolent world.

Architect of the new India, whose lot it was to lead that vast and multifaceted country along the path of independence and progress, the path of transformation into a modern power, Jawaharlal Nehru deservedly enjoys high prestige not only in our country, but in the world community as a whole.

Nehru's ideas on mankind as a unified, interconnected, and interdependent world are close to Soviet people in spirit. His desire to establish in international relations the five principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems—the "Pancha Shila"—is fully in accordance with the tasks of present-day international politics.

As a committed opponent of oppression, tyranny, and diktat in interstate relations, Nehru advocated true equality for all countries and the total eradication of the vestiges of colonial regimes. J. Nehru made an exceptionally important contribution to the formulation of the concept of the Nonaligned Movement: Under him India became an acknowledged leader of that movement.

A sincere friend of the Soviet Union, J. Nehru made a substantial contribution to the development and strengthening of friendly relations between our two countries. The USSR Supreme Soviet notes with satisfaction that these relations, enshrined in the Treaty on Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation, are an important factor for peace and stability in Asia and throughout the world. These aims are also served by the Delhi Declaration adopted by our countries' leaders, M.S. Gorbachev and R. Gandhi, which proposed to the world community a program for building a nonviolent world free from nuclear weapons.

This year has been declared Nehru Year in India. His centennial is being widely marked in the Soviet Union too. Jawaharlal Nehru and his thoughts and actions belong not only to India, but to all mankind.

Political & Social

Prokofyev Replaces Zaykov as Moscow Party Chief

LD2111181589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1755 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 21 Nov (TASS)—A plenum of the Moscow City CPSU Central Committee took place today. It examined an organizational issue. The plenum relieved Lev Zaykov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, from the duties of first secretary of the Moscow City party committee in connection with his appointment to the post of first deputy chairman of the USSR Defense Council. Participants in the plenum expressed gratitude to Lev Zaykov for great work as head of the capital's party organization.

By secret ballot on a multicandidate basis, Yuriy Prokofyev, who had earlier worked as second secretary of the party committee, was elected first secretary of the Moscow City party committee.

Mikhail Gorbachev addressed participants in the plenum.

Prokofyev Profiled

LD2111204489 Moscow TASS in English 2018 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—Today a plenary meeting of the Moscow City Committee of the Soviet Communist Party [CPSU] elected Yuriy Prokofyev to be the first secretary of the committee, upon relieving Lev Zaykov of these duties.

The plenum was attended by general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

The party's Central Committee, Gorbachev said in his speech at the plenum, found it necessary that Lev Zaykov should focus his attention on work in the party's Central Commiuttee and in the USSR Defence Council.

Prokofyev, who earlier worked as second secretary of the city committee, was elected by secret ballot on an alternative basis out of three candidacies that were nominated the day before during a discussion at the bureau of the city committee and after consultation with the secretaries of district committees.

Prokofyev was born in 1939 and joined the CPSU in 1960. He received a higher education at the Moscow Automechanical Institute and the Moscow Higher Party School. He has a scientific degree of Candidate of Science (Economics).

For a long time Prokofyev engaged in Komsomol (Young Communist League) work. Since 1968 he engaged in party and local government work as secretary and the first secretary of the Kuibyshev District Committee of the party, then as instructor, a departmental head and secretary of the Moscow City Executive Committee.

In September 1988 he was elected secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU and from December 1988—second secretary of the city committee.

Addresses Moscow Party

LD2111224689 Moscow TASS in English 2145 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—Profound conviction that the party will be able to undergo change in accordance with demands of the time and that the renewed party will be able to play the vanguard role in renewed society was expressed by Yuriy Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

He addressed today the plenum of the party organisation of the Soviet capital which elected him first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the Soviet Communist Party by secret voting during the election in which there were three candidates.

The plenum relieved Lev Zaykov, member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, of the duties of first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the party in connection with his appointment as first deputy chairman of the USSR Defence Council.

Prokofyev said he regards the task of rallying all the positive forces that sincerely support perestroyka as one of the chief tasks of the Moscow party organisation.

A most important stage of the preparation for the 28th party congress is ahead, he noted. The main purpose of the party organisation's work in the run-up to the congress is to determine firmly the attitude and act so that some progress be made every day.

"I believe in discussing matters and making decisions jointly and in carrying the responsibility for their implementation personally," he said. Zaykov cordially thanked members of the Moscow City Committee of the party for harmonious joint work and noted that they were working at a time that was not easy for society, during the crucial stage of perestroyka.

"And we did not set ourselves the aim of resolving all the accumulated problems at one go," he said.

"Our chief purpose was to create a reliable foundation for confident advance on all the directions of the economic and social development of the city, on the road of the democratisation of public life," he said.

Dwelling on the development of intra-party democracy, on the renewal of the party, Zaykov emphasised that the atmosphere of collective leadership, of consulting people, the quest for new methods of work, abandoning the command-administrative style become characteristic of the life of all sections of the party, above all primary party organisations.

Noting that the preparation for the 28th congress of the Soviet Communist Party is in progress, Zaykov expressed the confidence that Moscow Communists caring for the success of perestroyka, for the destiny of the country, will show a creative and principled attitude, befitting Communists, to the important event in the life of the party and the people.

At the request of participants in the plenum Mikhail Gorbachev spoke to sum up the present developments.

The plenum is over.

Further on New Party Chief

LD2111235389

[Editorial Report] Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1932 GMT on 21 November carries a 2,000-word report on today's plenum of the Moscow City Party Committee which examined an organizational question.

The report says:

"The plenum was opened by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee.

"Taking part in the work of the plenum were M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and senior Central Committee staff members. Members of the Control and Auditing Commission of the Moscow City party organization were among those who were invited.

"M.S. Gorbachev took the floor. The CPSU Central Committee, he said, deemed it necessary that Comrade L.N. Zaykov should concentrate on his work in the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Defense Council. The Politburo adopted a relevant decision on

this issue. It recommended to the Moscow City Party Committee that it should examine the question of releasing Comrade L.N. Zaykov from his duties as first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee.

"Having examined the CPSU Central Committee's proposal, the Moscow City Party Committee plenum released Comrade L.N. Zaykov from his duties as first secretary and member of the Buro of the Moscow City CPSU Committee.

"The CPSU Central Committee, continued M.S. Gorbachev further, is aware that a weakening of the leadership of the city's party organization must not be allowed to occur as a result of this reshuffle, and regrouping of forces. It seems to us that the City Party Committee now has at its disposal the cadres potential that can be put to use to resolve this task.

"Yesterday we debated this issue for several hours, first at the Bureau of the Moscow City CPSU Committee and subsequently with the secretaries of the rayon party committees in the capital.

"Practically all participants in the meeting spoke during the discussion on this question. Under discussion was a broad range of the candidacies of possible incumbents of this post. In the final analysis we ended up with the candidacies of Yu.A. Prokfyev, V.M. Serov, V.V. Klyuyev. Here, preference for the candidacy of Yu.A. Prokofyev, the second secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, was expressed unanimously.

"At the same time, both the City Party Committee Bureau and all the secretaries of the rayon CPSU committees expressed themselves in favor of relevant consultations to be held on this issue in the rayon party committees."

The report then describes speeches by minor speakers who praise Zaykov's work and his successor. This is followed by a description of the wide-ranging consultations that preceded the election of Prokofyev. L.I. Abalkin, A.I. Lukyanov, B.C. Mitin, A.I. Volskiy, G.P. Razumovskiy, V.T. Saykin were among the possible candidates, says A.Ya. Nemtinov, in charge of the department of the organisational party and cadre work. Nemtinov is quoted as saying: "Along with positive reaction concerning the work of the City Party Committee, wishes were voiced, addressed to the leadership, to the effect that the party's course of perestroyka should be implemented in the city more resolutely and firmly and that in future there should be broader consultations on cadre issues with the primary party organizations and that there should be an effective reserve from which to choose those in charge of the Moscow City CPSU Committee and to the effect that elections of the first secretary of the party's City Committee should be carried on the basis of there being an alternative."

Minor speakers are then reported saying that elections should be preceded by wideranging consultations and the public ought to be kept abreast of what is being discussed. These speakers briefly described what was discussed at their own party meetings in the institutions they represent.

This section of the report contains the final list of candidates: Yu.A. Prokofyev, second secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee; V.V. Klyuyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, general director of the "Spektr" Scientific Production Association; A.I. Zemskov, first secretary of the Voroshilovskiy Rayon CPSU Committee; Yu.S. Karabasov, secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee; V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow City Executive Committee, A.I. Volskiy, head of a department of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Nagrono-Karabakh Special Administration Committee, A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, V.I. Shimko, USSR minister of radio industry, S.V. Kolpakov, USSR minister of metallurgy and A.V. Rudakov, first secretary of the Kalininskiy Rayon CPSU Committee.

The report then sums up Prokofyev's speech of thanks. He is aware, he said, of the enormous responsibility he will now have to carry; the work will be hard but he will rely on Moscow's Communists. He is convinced the party will succeed in restructuring itself in accordance with what is demanded by the times. Moscow people expect that the social and economic situation in the city will be stabilized; financial autonomy and greater independence of rayons will facilitate this. New jobs must not be created, except those which are vitally necessary—this is due to manpower shortages. One of the main tasks of the Moscow City CPSU Committee will be to consolidate all pro-perestroyka forces and to strengthen democracy, the report notes.

The report then says:

"The floor is given to L.N. Zaykov. First and foremost, he said, I wish cordially to thank you, members of the Moscow City Party Committee, for our harmonious joint work. I will not conceal the fact that when 2 years ago the CPSU Central Committee recommended me for the work in the Moscow City Party Committee I experienced great anxiety, although I already had a long life behind me, a not inconsiderable experience of economic, soviet and party work. After all, it was a matter of working in the party organization of the capital, one of the biggest within the party, one which had prestige in the party, one which had an abundance of glorious revolutionary traditions.

We worked together in a complicated and difficult time for society, at a turning point in the course of perestroyka. Two years is a short period. It was not our aim to surmount all the problems that have piled up just like that, in one go. Our main task was to build a firm and reliable foundation for a confident and forward-looking progress along all the directions of the economic and social development of the city and along the path of democratizing public life. It is man, with his daily needs

and cares, that is in the center of attention of the city party organization. As far as all the questions connected with Moscow's life are concerned, all without exception, we always encounter support in the Politburo, in the party Central Committee and in the government.

We all took part in the working out of the comprehensive "Progresss-95" territorial and sectoral program and in the preparations for Moscow's transition to the relations of financial autonomy. It is very important that party committees succeeded in involving labor collectives and Moscow's inhabitants in this cause.

The City Committee strove to act with an eye to the future and, at the same time, to concentrate on tackling urgent tasks. The necessary documents have been adopted and appropriate funds and resources have been allocated for all the biggest problems, such as the housing, food, transport problems and the problems of developing the health service, of reconstructing the center, of renovating cultural establishments and others. It is now important to carry out active work to fulfill the plans that have been drawn up.

The preparations for, and the carrying out of elections to the republican and local soviets represent what is perhaps one of the most important urgent tasks. Speaking of the development of democracy inside the party, of the renewal of the party itself, I would like to emphasize that the atmosphere of collectiveness, of consulting people, of searching for new, nonstandard methods of work, of renouncing resolutely the command—administrative style permeates more and more the life of all the levels of the party and, first and foremost, the life of the primary party organizations.

Naturally, not everything has come out right, but a great deal has been done to separate the functions of party, soviet and economic bodies. The Moscow City Soviet and the rayon soviets of people's deputies began to take more upon themselves.

Preparations are now getting off the ground within the party for the 28th CPSU Congress. I am profoundly convinced that the Communists of Moscow, who hold dear the success of perestroyka and the country's destiny, will approach this most important event in the life of the party and the people in a creative, involved manner and being guided by party principles.

At the request of those taking part in the plenum, M.S. Gorbachev delivered a speech about what is currently taking place in the life of society. The plenum completed its work with this."

News Conference on Ryzhkov Talks With Miners

PM2111190589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[I. Demchenko report under rubric "Stenogram": "What Miners Agreed With Head of the Government"]

[Text] A news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists on the outcome of the meeting between N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and representatives of the country's mining collectives was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center 20 November. L.A. Voznesenskiy, head of the USSR Council of Ministers Information Department, described the aforementioned meeting as "combative, and very acrimonious." It lasted the whole day 17 November. After 2100 hours Nikolay Ivanovich received separately the miners' delegation from the Pechora Coal Basin.

Today we publish a brief account of the news conference.

Here is the question put by a journalist of Australia's ABC to the coal industry minister: What is the situation as regards coal reserves in the country?

M.I. Shchadov's reply: "Due to the strike we have lost around 9 million tonnes of coal, including 2 million tonnes of coking coal. The stocks at ferrous metallurgy enterprises are almost 50 percent below the norm. We are taking steps and transferring coking coal from Kuzbass and Karaganda mine depots to the European part of the USSR. As for power industry workers, their coal stocks are almost at the same level as last year. The coal remaining at coal industry enterprise depots totals 33 million tonnes against a norm of 16 million tonnes."

WALL STREET JOURNAL representative: Will there be disruptions in the electricity supply this winter?

Answer by L.D. Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers: "We believe that on the whole we are ready for the winter, although in a number of regions the situation will be tight to some extent. Primarily in the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia, and certain parts of the Ukraine."

Question from the UPI correspondent: Will the miners work during the winter?

Answer by B.A. Grebenyuk, member of the Donetsk strike committee: "The decision to strike is made by the mine labor collective. Therefore, I can only express my personal opinion. After the agreement we have reached with the government, I see no reason why they should not work. The government has agreed to a number of compromise solutions which, I am sure, would cause shock waves in any other country. Virtually 70-80 percent of our demands have been met. Therefore, I am convinced that the miners will continue working, not just in Donetsk, but also in other regions."

Radio Luxembourg: We would like to know whether the strike in Vorkuta has ended following the meeting with Mr Ryzhkov.

Answer by A.M. Sheykhakhmedov, member of the Vorkuta City strike committee: "We are satisfied with the outcome of this meeting. Immediately after the meeting many Vorkuta miners ended their strike. For instance, the 'Yuzhnaya' Mine where I work ended the strike 2 hours

after the meeting ended. At present nine mines are working in Vorkuta, some of them partially. The 'Vorgashorskaya' and 'Promyshlennaya' Mines are not working. I believe that they too will resume work within the next few days. Although, honestly speaking, I have my doubts. This is connected, of course, with the chairman of the 'Vorgashorskaya' Mine strike committee."

RTL correspondent: You have said that you are satisfied with the way the government is fulfilling your demands. Does this mean that there will be no more strikes?

P.P. Shlegel, chairman of the commission for monitoring the implementation of USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 608:

"It cannot be said, of course, that we are entirely satisfied. A number of questions, very acute questions, have still not been resolved. But we are waiting. The government has 10 days to provide full clarification on all points.

"Incidentally, one of these questions is recognizing the Vorkuta strike as legitimate and just. This is not a private problem—it concerns all the regions. Apart from this, questions pertaining to leave and pensions and the granting of independence to enterprises remain to be resolved."

A.M. Sheykhahmedov:

"I would like to explain why the Vorkuta miners are demanding that the legitimacy of their strike be recognized. The point is that in July our strike committee signed a joint protocol with a government commission. It states in part that if only one of the protocol's 28 points is not fulfilled, the strike committee reserves the right to resume the strike. Which is what happened in October. This is why we disagree with the decision of the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Court which ruled that the strike was illegal. Four workers, protesting this decision, have declared a hunger strike."

UPI correspondent: I have a question for the deputy prime minister. If the court declared the strike illegal and it continues, what does the government intend to do about it?

L.D. Ryabev:

"Sanctions against individuals or collectives who violate laws are not applied by the government but by the judicial organs and the prosecutor's office."

M.I. Shchadov:

"So far no member of the strike committee with the exception of Comrade Kiselev has been affected. The latter has been fined for tactless behavior in court—R50, I believe. But! The plan at the striking mines will not be adjusted, the workers who took part in the strikes will not receive their wages. The mines will be fined for nonuse of freight cars supplied for loading and for nondelivery of coal."

UPI correspondent: I will try once again to put my question to Mr Ryabev. In my country, courts interpret laws, but the government ensures their implementation. I would like to know what the Soviet Government intends to do if the miners continue their illegal strike? Will you institute court proceedings against the workers, which is what my government would do in a situation like this?

L.D. Ryabev:

"Our laws make provision for the application of sanctions for the violation of adopted resolutions. In a situation like this the court decides which part of the law has been violated and what sanctions should be applied. As for the government's attitude... We are no advocates of repressive measures to exert influence. Those who take part in illegal strikes punish themselves."

Foreign journalist, who failed to introduce himself: Honestly speaking, I have understood nothing. One of the miners' main demands presented to the government, as you have said, is the nonrecognition of the republic Supreme Court's decision. Will the executive power interfere with the decision of an organ of the judiciary in order to satisfy this strikers' demand?

L.D. Ryabev: We do not intend to interfere with the court's decision. This is banned by law. We use economic sanctions.

Correspondent of the Hungarian newspaper NEPSZABADSAG: Comrade Ryzhkov has said that there were political demands among the miners' demands, but that that is a separate matter. What are the results of the talks as regards this matter?

L.D. Ryabev: Fourteen of the demands could be classed as political. The first of them is: "All power to the Soviets!" I believe there is no one in our country who would object to this point.

The last point is connected with the law on the procedure for settling labor conflicts. In the miners' opinion it is not a very democratic law. They insist that this law be repealed or amended.

There is a demand to abrogate Article 6 of the USSR Constitution. An answer to this question has been provided recently by Comrade Gorbachev in our press, and the problem has been extensively discussed at the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A whole series of demands are on the following lines: Election of deputies to the Supreme Soviet from social organizations should be banned; the right to speak at the Supreme Soviet should be granted to all who wish to do so, without applying procedural strictures to debate contributions; trade unions should be more independent. There have also been demands for greater press

freedom in the country. These are the most characteristic demands put forward by the Vorkuta miners.

During the conference with Comrade Ryzhkov political demands were not raised by the miners, these questions were not discussed.

L.A. Voznesenskiy: I myself would also like to ask a question. Mikhail Ivanovich, could you please enumerate those demands put forward by the miners which were satisfied.

M.I. Shchadov:

"The mining industry Statutes on Discipline, which, for instance, forbade a sacked worker to turn to the courts, have been abolished. The northern allowance will now be retained during transfers from one enterprise to another. A number of other demands have also been met."

L.D. Ryabev: It is probably expedient to give a general description of USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 608. Its first part—approximately 30 points—is commitments accepted by the government and they will be implemented in full. The second part is miners' demands which need to be studied. Negative decisions may be adopted on some of them. The third part is concrete proposals grouped by regions. They too have to be studied: Some have already been implemented, some are totally impracticable. This resolution and the agreements with the strike committees will cost several billion rubles.

NEW YORK TIMES correspondent: Do you trust the government?

B.A. Grebenyuk:

"We have no reasons for distrust. The government has an interest in resolving these questions. Together we are trying to find a realistic basis for the fulfillment of our agreements. In individual cases the government accepted commitments which could not realistically be implemented within the set deadlines. It has now been decided to revise the deadlines as regards a number of the demand points. This compromise satisfies both sides. The negotiations have already started."

Further on Vorkuta Mine Strike Situation

Described as 'Explosive'

LD2011220789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 20 Nov 89

[From "Vremya" newscast; video report by Ye. Kuznetsov from Inta]

[Text] The situation in the country's coal basins remains tense. Our correspondent reports from an Inta mine:

[Kuznetsov] After holding a 2-hour strike in solidarity with the striking miners of Vorkuta, the collective of Inta mines have been working normally for over 2 weeks. The plan for coal extraction for 11 months has been fulfilled ahead of schedule. Now all the coal mining enterprises of Inta are extracting coal on the December account. In relation with the Vorkuta strike, the load on the Inta-2 station has considerably increased. Leaders of the Northern railway have opted for the simplest way. They are dispatching all the empty waggons for coal to Inta. The number of empty waggons per day sometimes exceeds usual norms by 100 percent, and no shock-work by miners is capable of satisfying such large volumes. [Video shows snow-covered mining facilities, trains on side tracks]

A resolution on eliminating the Intaugol association has been adopted at a conference of representatives of labor collectives, and the issue of setting up an association of independent mines and enterprises of the town is to be resolved in late November. A new structure for the territorial trade union committee has been put forward, too. A majority spoke at the conference in favor of setting up a council of the chairmen of trade union committees. Many chairmen of the councils of labor collectives trade union leaders have been replaced. A council of the secretaries of primary party organizations has been formed. The town workers' strike committee, however, continues to work. It publishes its own bulletin and observes progress of the implementation of decision 608.

[Begin video interview] [Kuznetsov] Vladimir Yuryevich, Vorkuta mines are on strike while Inta mines are working. What can you say about this?

[V. Yu. Solnyshkin, identified by screen caption] Yes, indeed, Inta mines are working but this does not mean that the situation is calm here. On the whole, it could be described as explosive. Now we are giving material help, but there is no guarantee against mines going on strike. Everything is heading toward this.

[Kuznestov] And what about workers' committees whose status is being discussed both in Inta and Vorkuta? What is their purpose at the moment?

[Solnyshkin] The workers' committees, as such, have disintegrated. It is our view that they are necessary and we will do everything in Inta to restore them at enterprises, as was the case in Vorkuta. They are necessary and the status of workers' committee is necessary, too.

[Kuznetsov] To put the workers' movement into shape?

[Solnyshkin] Yes, in order to maintain it. The workers' movement must exist and only then will it be strong and enjoy support. [video shows the two men in conversation] [end interview]

Coal Shortfall Grows

LD2111205689 Moscow TASS in English 2029 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Vorkuta, Komi Autonomous Republic November 21 TASS—TASS learned from the Vorkutaugol amalgamation that the mining operations and the loading of coal were not conducted at the Vorgashor and Promyshlennaya mines today.

A number of miners at Yur-Shor and Oktyabrskaya pits remained on strike. Other mines of the Voruktaugol amalgamation were operating, but a number of them have not yet developed a normal pace of production following the strike.

The striking miners demand above all the abrogation of the decisions of the supeme court of the Komi Autonomous Republic which proclaimed the strike illegal and the decisions to impose fines on the organisers and participants in the strike.

The striking miners also intend to go on with the strike until official documents about the solution of the questions the miners posed to the Soviet Government come from Moscow.

The demand for the abrogation of the court decision is backed by a considerable number of miners who resumed work. More than ten miners at the Yur-Shor pit went on a hunger strike in protest against the decisions of the supreme court of the Komi Autonomous Republic. The decisions which they regard as unfair.

Those decisions were adopted in accordance with the law of the USSR on the procedure of the settlement of collective labour disputes.

The Vorkutaugol amalgamation fulfilled only half of the assignment for mining and loading of coal for the past day. The shortfall continues to grow. Miners of the Arctic area are some 750 thousand tonnes of coal behind the production target.

Activists on Pit Strike Ruling

PM2111161789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Untitled own correspondent V. Filippov report]

[Text] Vorkuta, 21 Nov—The "Vorgashorskaya" and "Promyshlennaya" Pits are still on strike. Their slogan now is: "The court ruling against the strike committees means the end of perestroyka!" The other 11 pits in the "Vorkutaugol" Association are working, but this does not mean that they are condemning their striking colleagues. Even the labor collective council at the "Pechorshakhtostroy" Combine, making an appeal in the city newspaper ZAPOLYARYE for an immediate end to the strike, did not refrain from expressing solidarity: "The government should unconditionally abandon the use of any sanctions against the striking miners." Quite simply, it should overturn the court decision that ruled that the strike was illegal.

Those hungry for justice are themselves casting doubt on the basis for it—the law. Nikolay Yushkov, chairman of the strike committee at the "Yur-Shor" Pit, showed me with resentment a letter from the "Vorkutaugol" Association. It demands that he inform the workers that each day's strike following the court ruling is equivalent to absenteeism, for which they are threatened with fines, the removal of bonuses, 13th-month payments [year-end bonus equivalent to 1 month's normal salary], seniority payments, and travel arrangements, downgrading on the housing list, and so forth up to and including dismissal with the loss of Far North privileges.

"The government recognized our demands and gave the miners privileges, while the courts are taking them away," the workers' leader objected indignantly. "This is nothing other than a bureaucratic attempt to suppress our movement using the law. I am unable to dissuade people from taking extreme steps. Twelve workers at our pit and one at 'Vorgashorskaya' have declared a hunger strike in protest against this arbitrariness [nasiliye]."

I cannot fail to agree with this. Actions must be accountable before the law—that is a basic principle of a rule-of-law state. Admittedly, none of the sanctions against the strikers has yet been implemented. I understand Nikolay Yushkov's outrage and alarm. There is a special political situation in Vorkuta today. But those charged with settling this situation with the help of legal norms have not taken the special features into account. The usual paper machine was brought into play to issue instructions, warnings, and orders for the city strike committee members to immediately resume work. But the majority of those to whom these severe pieces of paper were addressed had not overstepped the law for the sake of their own self-interest. They were moved by a sincere faith in the possibility of perestroyka from below.

Perhaps I was unlucky, but after the ruling I visited five pits, and everywhere the situation was the same: Dismayed workers were holding rallies about the court orders. And there were no lawyers or association leaders at these rallies who could have interpreted the situation and talked in a human way with the workers, who were clearly tired of the high feelings engendered by the strikes. After all, they now want one thing—to go down the mines with no loss of dignity.

There is one other important point. Perestroyka needs enterprising people. There are many such people in the pit strike committees. Now, following the court ruling, these respected leaders in the worker environment have suddenly found themselves placed on a par with run-of-the-mill goof-offs. I realize that everyone is equal before the law. But legal justice lies not so much in this equality as in sanctions against offenses. It is hard to guess who will gain in this case from the maximum punishment.

While the authorities and the justice system are dealing with the workers through the medium of guideline documents [rukovodyashchikh bumag], their opponents are operating by using lies. I have already reported how closely the "Vorgashorskaya" Strike Committee looks after envoys from various fronts and unions who are anxious to turn the miners' anger into a struggle for their own political initiatives. The strike at this pit has already gone beyond the framework of an economic conflict. Its

collective has essentially become hostage to the political ambitions of strike committee leader Ivan Guridov and his advisers.

Here is further confirmation of that. It is reported from Novokuznetsk, Kemerovo Oblast, that at the constituent conference of the Union of Kuzbass Working People S. Masalovich, member of the strike committee and electrical fitter at the "Vorgashorskaya" Pit, talked about the sufferings of miners beyond the Arctic Circle, who—just imagine it—have nothing to live on since the strike committee's bank account has been frozen. This prompted a storm of dissatisfaction with the authorities and gave the Vorkuta strikers the chance to crow about the allegedly unconditional support for their actions from the Kuzbass miners. I can report specially for miners in all the country's coalfields that the Vorkuta City Workers' (Strike) Committee has no right to have a bank account, since it is not a legal person. An insurance fund made up of voluntary contributions and donations has been specially opened for it at the territorial trade union committee. It is entitled to collect and spend funds on the needs of the striking miners beyond the Arctic Circle.

Miners Strike for 'Striking's Sake'

PM2211162789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Viktor Filippov report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Striking for Striking's Sake?"]

[Text] Vorkuta—Of the "Vorkutaugol" Association's 13 pits, 2 are still out on strike—"Vorgashorskaya" and "Promyshlennaya." Some miners at "Yur-Shor" and "Oktyabrskaya" still refuse to go back.

"Even if Council of Ministers Resolution 608 was carried out in full today, the strike would not be called off," was the heated claim made at the party city committee conference by Viktor Kurasov, party committee secretary at "Ayach-Yaga." "The strike committee members are finding a new excuse for their discontent. The resolution uses the wrong paper, for instance, or is stamped in the wrong place...."

His condemnation was categorical. Why shouldn't it be—the man is tired of endless rallies at which he has to point out the obvious: Ultimatums will not make the miners, Vorkuta, or the country any richer. On the other hand, it seems to me that Viktor Nikolayevich reported the essence of what is happening in the Arctic Circle quite accurately.

Initially the strike was based on six demands. Then, following 17 November, when these demands were met at a meeting with the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the strike committees came up with a new excuse for an ultimatum: They asked for documents to confirm the fulfillment of what had been promised. N.I. Ryzhkov informed the labor collectives at the "Vorkutaugol" Association by telegram that the relevant documents will be drawn up within 10 days after the meeting. The strike committees immediately came up with a new slogan: Down with the court ruling that declared the strike illegal!

When you ponder this strange chain of ultimatums it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the people in Vorkuta are now striking for the sake of striking. The pit walkout is now a protest against the persecution of the strike leaders and participants. The miners' definition of persecution is the removal of bonuses, 13th-month payments, postponement of leave, downgrading on the housing list, and other sanctions which are to be used against those who have not gone back to work following the court ruling.

At rallies the strike committee orators vent their wrath against judges, prosecutors, and party workers. But what have they got to do with it? They should take a look above all at the Labor Law Code: All questions of the use of new sanctions are decided within labor collectives themselves—by the administration, the trade union committee, and the labor collective council!

So it turns out that the strikers themselves have been the ones putting forward ultimatums. Unfortunately, when the heart rules the head a tragedy turns into a farce. But, quite honestly, it's no laughing matter, since they are playing in real life with the fate and prosperity of the country. This is just one vivid example of the way in which the struggle for democracy can trample people's dignity by the use of strikes.

The day before yesterday an aktiv made up of party and trade union committee members, the labor collective council, and the strike committee met at the "Promyshlennaya" Pit to decide on what to do next. They took a vote. The majority were against continuing with the strike. But the strike committee representatives considered that this decision had been made behind closed doors: They thought it necessary to consult with the people. Instructions were provided by the next shift. They took a vote—and again a majority rejected the strike. Then the strike committee people got worried: "Why are surface workers and the administrative apparatus voting? The only real miners are those who mine the coal underground—they're the people who'll decide the pit's fate!" And they took a vote solely among the group of underground workers. Of the 536 who voted, 267 supported the strike.

The pit is idle. Thus, a "select" minority has decided the fate of a collective of almost 1,500 people. The law on the Procedure for Deciding Collective Labor Disputes has been violated. People have been belittled. How is this compatible with the endless statements by the strike leaders that their movement's main aim is democracy and justice?

Further on Kuzbass Mine Strike Situation

Workers Define Political Stand

LD1911153289 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Novokuznetsk (Kemerovo Region) November 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Girgory Shalakin:

A conference of the Kuzbass Working People's Union ended here today after the delegates concluded a lengthy debate and adopted the rules of the union.

The difference of opinions and fiery debate were caused by point one of the general provisions in the rules describing the union as a public or a socio-political organisation.

In spite of the proposal by jurists and social scientists to leave the first description which, in their opinion, was fully consistent with the present constitutional requirements, a majority voted for calling the union socio-political.

One of its principle aims is to attain full power of the people through a broad representation of working people in the soviet of people's deputies of all levels and the implementation of social justice.

In addition to the rules, the conference adopted a programme statement of the Kuzbass Working People's Union. It aims to liquidate the power-and-pressure system in the economy, promote equitable existence of various forms of property possible under socialism.

The statement also reiterates that there can be no other power in the Soviet Union but the power of the soviets (councils) of people's deputies.

On relations with the Soviet Communist Party, the Kuzbass Working People's Union recognized the fact that the Communist Party remained the nucleus of the political system and point out at the same time that it will press for abolishing article 6 of the Constitution. It argues that the leading role of the party cannot be imposed on society by legislation.

Working People's Union Discussed

LD2011220689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 20 November in its "Vremya" newscast carries a 3-minute video report by correspondent N. Sokolova on the founding conference of the Kuzbass Working People's Union in Novokuznetsk.

Noting that 3 months have passed since the Kuzbass strike, she says that the conference includes delegates from the oblast's workers' committees, soviet and party leaders, representatives from Vorkuta, Inta, Donbass, and Karaganda, as well as correspondents of the Soviet and foreign press and television. "One of the reasons for consolidating the workers is the lack of change in life and work," she says. "The essence of the new organization's economic program is to construct a model for the region's development which would organically combine the interests of the individual, the enterprise, the territory, and the state. The members of the union believe that to do this it is essential to introduce real leasing relations in the coal and other industries, to develop the cooperative movement in the countryside, and to set up concerns—it is already planned to set up a coal concern in the Kuzbass—joint stock companies, and other forms of people's ownership. It is also proposed that the Kuzbass be turned into a free enterprise zone. All these demands exist in the measures which have been coordinated by the region's strike committee and the government commission," Sokolova reports.

M.B. Kislyuk, a member of the regional council of workers' committees, says in an interview: "We will at least strive so that this organization brings the maximum degree of influence to bear on the conduct of economic reform in the Kuzbass, so that this organization's work is not destructive but creative, so that we can mobilize and consolidate all forces, all structures in the Kuzbass, all honest and resourceful people to form an economic model for our region that can bring the maximum degree of dignity to the lives of the working people of the Kuzbass."

Sokolova continues: "The Kuzbass Working People's Union, which after long arguments was given the description of a sociopolitical organization, adopted a program and statutes and founded a press organ. But what stance will it adopt among the other organs of power, and how will it cooperate with them?"

The question is taken up by R.S. Loskutov, secretary of the Kemerovo CPSU Oblast Committee: "Workers' committees were formed here after the strike and the events of July. Since then they have displayed both a high degree of efficiency in their work and a desire to tackle jointly problems of social development."

Sokolova asks him: "So you are hoping for cooperation with the Union?"

Loskutov replies: "Definitely. In principle, their documents, both the program statement and the draft status, are not at odds with the aspirations of the party oblast committee."

Labor Collectives Forum Held

PM2211103589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[Report by D. Shagiakhmetov: "Talk Not According to Regulations; On Results of First Conference of Labor Collective in Kuzbass"]

[Text] The recovery of the situation in the oblast—it is extremely tense to this day—was the aim set for this conference by oblast trade unions council chairman V. Romanov, who delivered the report at the conference. Indeed, life is taking a turn such that it is essential to

introduce organization and thought to the workers' movement which has arisen spontaneously, to rid ourselves of excesses and emotional upheavals, and to switch to confident working dialogue with the government and central departments. The oblast press published an open letter from a group of outstanding workers suggesting that the first such conference in the history of the Kuzbass be convened. The idea was supported by the oblast trade unions council, which did the necessary organizational work.

Not everyone initially approved the convening of this workers forum. Both during the preparation of the conference and during its work opinions were voiced to the effect that the oblast trade unions council had decided to seize the initiative from the workers committees and convene its own, alternative, conference a few days before the announced oblast conference of workers' committees. They will sift people through a questionnaire sieve as before—so the rumor went—and appoint the delegates, put their own decisions through at the conference, and then, on behalf of the workers, they will "bridle the irresponsible."

The course of the conference showed that the fears were in general unfounded. Whichever way you may sift the Kuzbass people today, the result, the nature of their talk, the overall mood, will be virtually the same. The region's social problems are too obvious and tangible. The support for the workers' committees' line is sufficiently strong.

Even if the organizers of the conference were counting on its measured progress and approval of the proposed decisions, this could not have turned out to be the case today. The delegates disagreed with many of the report's assessments, substantially reworked and added to the resolutions, and in fact remade the final document.

For instance, it is hard for an inhabitant of the oblast to feel guilty to the country for the disruption of coal deliveries. This coal—millions of tonnes are "going up in smoke" at the stores and they cannot be shipped out. Work should be stopped, this time on an enforced basis. Blame the railroad workers? But this year they too have done virtually no work under a normal regime—there are no empty cars.

Contrary to established public opinion, the shelves of the Kuzbass stores have not, alas, been inundated with goods and food since the strike. The protocols signed during the July strikes between the government commission and the strikers are being fulfilled poorly, to put it mildly. Particularly the basic point—enterprises' real autonomy. Repeated calls to the high-ranking commission to travel to the Kuzbass once again and assess the implementation of the summer accords on the spot remain unanswered.

Many delegates also disagreed that labor discipline has declined substantially since the strikes. "It is not discipline which is declining—it is the thriftlessness and irresponsibility of leaders of different ranks which is growing," said electric fitter Solnyshev from Leninsk-Kuznetskiy, approaching the microphone. "Many leaders are not ready to work under the new conditions without shouting and excessive administration."

Those taking part in the conference did not set about examining the proposed draft resolution "on the attitude toward laws and other normative acts." They decided: Why try to persuade each other by producing empty resolutions? The law must simply be observed. What other attitude can there be toward it?

Should the workers committees (former strike committees) continue to exist at enterprises or, as V.I. Romanov proposed, should they be eliminated, assigning the defense of interests to the workers' trade union committees, which are being renewed almost everywhere? It is for the labor collectives themselves to decide this, the delegates said after recording in the resolution their positive assessment of the workers' committees' efforts.

Nor did the proposal to create special organs—city, rayon, and oblast councils of labor collective councils—meet with support. The majority of speakers assessed this plan as far-fetched. But they agreed that for the sake of confidence it should be discussed in the labor collectives themselves. Nothing should be created or abolished without preliminary consultation with people. It was perhaps this desire which dominated the auditorium.

The desire to strengthen the movement of the working people in the Kuzbass and to make it more organized also exists in the workers committees. A conference which, it is planned, will finally approve the charter and program statement of a new sociopolitical organization—the Union of Kuzbass Working People—is scheduled for the end of this week.

The local authorities' attitude toward this initiative from below is quite cautious. Probably that was also the attitude of the conference organizational committee: Neither the report nor the drafts of the resolution even mentioned this new phenomenon of social life. Although the oblast newspaper conducted a discussion of the statute of the working people's union for 2 months in every issue. Of course, the conference delegates could not bypass this topic and they decided that the creation of a new organization does not contradict the Constitution and is an entirely normal process.

As in any new matter, there were omissions and blunders in the first conference. Probably a fault-finding view would find the documents adopted by the delegates half-baked—they had to elaborated them on the move, in heated debates. Initially it was not entirely clear to those assembled in the hall for whom the conference decisions would be binding. A.F. Lyutenko, chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee; A.G. Melnikov, first secretary of the oblast CPSU committee; and V.I. Romanov, chairman of the oblast trade unions council, who delivered individual statements, assured the delegates that the oblast soviet, oblast party committee, and oblast trade unions council will examine the results of

the conference and will without fail gear themselves to the opinion of the fully empowered representatives of the oblast's working people. A statement which instills hope—leading the Kuzbass out of the crisis—can be implemented only by pooling efforts and attentively heeding people's opinion.

More on Conference

LD1811180189 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Novokuznetsk (Kemerovo Oblast) November 18 TASS—A conference of the Union of Workers of the Kuzbass coal-mining region opened in West Siberia's largest industrial center today. The conference is attended by more than 500 delegates from the region's main industries. There are delegations from Donbass, Karaganda, Vorkuta and other coal-mining areas. The conference will discuss five issues, including the fulfillment of the protocol signed by the government commission after the July strike and a policy statement of the Union of Workers of Kuzbass.

The first document to be endorsed at the Novokuznetsk conference was a resolution concerning the conference of labour collectives of the region, held in Kemerovo from November 14 to 15. The resolution notes that the conference has successfully solved the problem of rallying Kuzbass' public forces with the aim of improving the situation in this industrial area.

Considering the fulfillment of the protocol signed by the government commission after the miners' strike, the delegates criticised ministries for wasting the region's natural resources, selling them for fabulously low prices and making minimum investments into creating normal conditions for people's work and life. After ruling that the fulfillment of the protocol had been unsatisfactory, the Union of Workers of Kuzbass proposed a programme of further actions aimed at building an economic system which successfully combines the interest of man, enterprise, territory and the staff. This system envisages full autonomy of enterprises, the dismantling of the apparatus of coal-producing associations, the creation of a concern, and the elimination of arbitration by departments, as well as other measures.

In the evening today the conference decided by a majority of votes to transform the Workers' Union into the Union of Workers of Kuzbass.

The conference will last for two days.

Riga Mayor Criticizes Latvian Party

LD2211001789 Moscow TASS in English 2353 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Riga November 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaitsev:

Mayor of Riga Alfred Rubiks who is also member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, blasted the leadership of the republican Communist Party for giving in to the "pseudo-reformist socio-political organisations", including the Latvian Popular Front.

His critical letter addressed to the buro of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, as well as a resolution of the republican Communist Party Central Committee's Buro was published by the republican press on Tuesday.

The Central Committee leadership, the resolution said, shares Rubiks's concern over the present political and social tensions in the republic and the situation in the republican party organisation, but it cannot agree with all the arguments Rubiks presented.

The 54-year-old Soviet people's deputy, Rubiks became Riga's mayor five years ago. Before that he had filled several elective Young Communist League and Communist Party posts and headed the republican Ministry of Local Industries.

In 1985, Rubiks was proclaimed the republic's most popular man.

The present political situation in the republic, Rubiks believes, attests to the fact that the Communist Party and its leading bodies are gradually losing their hold of the masses and control over the developments. They tend towards conciliation with the Latvian Popular Front and its leadership.

Rubiks considers further passivity of the Central Committee buro inadmissible. He urges the party to openly state its attitude towards the second congress of the Latvian Popular Front, that was held in October, and its resolutions.

He calls for defining the measure of responsibility of the Communist Party members who accounted for 24 percent of that congress's participants and charged them with actually conducting subversive activity against Soviet power and the armed forces.

Rubiks points out that they are promoting a rift in the party, undermining the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and complicating inter-ethnic relations.

Rubiks calls for restoring the mass information media to the party, the state and the soviets.

Rubiks's letter is the first of its kind in many years of the republican party organisation's history. His point of view is shared by many communists in the republic.

In connection with Rubiks's letter, the resolution of the Central Committee Buro is planning a number of measures aiming to democratise the inner party life and rally party members.

The Buro has decided to submit these questions for consideration to the next full-scale meeting of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

Bresis on Latvian Economic Sovereignty

90UN0278A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 2 Nov 89 p 3

[Speech by USSR People's Deputy, Chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Vilnis Bresis before USSR Supreme Soviet on 31 October, accompanied by a report on an interview with V. Bresis by special correspondent of the Latvian Information Agency in Moscow S. Prokoshenko on 31 October in Moscow: "To Guarantee Economic Sovereignty of Latvia"]

[Text] **On 31 October 1989, the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet continued to debate the draft State Plan of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1990 and and the USSR State Budget for 1990. USSR People's Deputy, Chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Vilnis Bresis spoke at the morning joint session of the chambers.**

Dear comrades!

We refer to the plan and budget for 1990 as transitional, meaning the introduction of the elements of a new economic mechanism. Let us be objective: The government of the country proposes to carry out major programs for increasing the output of consumer goods, converting defense enterprises, and reducing the state debt.

However, we will not be objective if we say that everything possible at this stage has been done. Too much subjectivity still remains; the planning of state orders and material-technical supplies has not acquired the form of a well-tuned system due to which the collectives of enterprises remain uncertain.

At present, all of us are concerned about the transition of the republic to economic accountability within which the formation of the budget is one of the most important problems.

We should live as well as we have worked. In keeping with this truth of perestroyka, we believe that a single-channel principle should be the foundation for building the budgets of the USSR and the republic. After all, the nationalities policy of the party under contemporary conditions says that a union republic has the authority to resolve all issues of state and public life except for those which have been voluntarily delegated by it to the jurisdiction of the union. The size of the budget of the republic should be directly dependent on the efficiency of its work. Thus, an opportunity appears to introduce in practice the sovereignty of the republic through budgetary relations and implement the principle of socialism—to each according to his labor.

However, reality is far removed from this.

To be sure, some changes have been made in the draft 1990 budget following its consideration by the USSR Council of Ministers, the Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet for Economic and Social Development of the Republics, and the USSR Ministry of Finance.

However, the situation did not change considerably. In view of the economic potential of the national economic complex of the republic, the incomes of the territory which form the revenue side of the republic budget were set at a level which is 15.8 percent, or 450 million rubles, higher. Meanwhile, the expenditure side of the budget is to increase only by 6.8 percent in keeping with the proposal of the USSR Ministry of Finance. That is to say, a large segment—55 percent of the increment in revenues in an economically accountable republic—is again appropriated by the union budget.

At the same time, many problems of financing sociocultural and economic measures in the republic are not being solved, and the expenditure side does not fully take into account increases in prices for diesel fuel and tariffs for freight hauling; the volume of payment of differentials in the prices for agricultural products is set too low.

Moreover, a loan from enterprises and credit establishments in the amount of R156 million is envisaged while a greater part of the increment in republic revenues is confiscated.

Thus, it is proposed that a budget deficit be artificially created in a profitably operating republic which will generate greater revenues next year and is already giving the union about R1.5 billion. I stress that the rate of retention in the republic budget in our republic is one of the lowest in the country. It is quite understandable that this does not comply with any principles of economic accountability but rather, to the contrary, this is punishment which is impossible to explain to the population of the republic.

With this in view, we ask that the increment in budget revenues be left at the disposal of the republic next year. For our part, we will cover a share of the deficit in the union budget with these revenues. I ask that the Law on the USSR State Budget in 1990 set the rate of contribution at 63.2 percent in Article 13 for the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. Otherwise, economic accountability of the republic will be completely ignored, at least with regard to the financial sphere.

Responsibility and discipline are yet another issue. There is no need to justify the importance of this because at present 40 to 50 percent of the failures to fulfill plan assignments are due to the incomplete deliveries of raw materials, subcontracted products, including those allocated by the USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies] and Gosplan [State Planning Committee]. Unfortunately, the situation continues to deteriorate.

Can we ensure some stabilization of the situation by improving the plan itself?

We believe that we can, and that in the course of transition to the economic accountability of republics

and reductions in the level of state orders a plan-contract should be signed by appropriate union and republic organs for the assortment covered by state orders and the products allocated in a centralized manner. Each of the parties should shoulder the burden of its responsibilities. The plan-contract should contain guarantees of accomplishing deliveries to the union and other republics and, in turn, of receiving raw and other materials and equipment necessary for fulfilling the mutually advantageous obligations of the republic. Conditions under which a segment of strategic resources has a share of state orders coming to 70 percent, as was mentioned in the speeches here, and some, e.g., dairy and meat products, 100 percent, place different regions in a situation of unequal rights. It may so happen that a number of collectives simply will not accept state orders referring to the need to secure the lacking resources through horizontal links.

We think that this process should not become spontaneous in nature character. This is why the plan-contract should introduce a measure of systemic approach and guarantee that for the transitional period the state is clearly in control of the segment of production for which it distributes resources and which the republic delivers to union stocks. Different points of view in this matter are voiced in the course of discussing the problem of improvements in planning. The opponents of signing the plan-contract justify the impossibility of signing it by the fact that the Gosplan supposedly cannot assume responsibility for the fulfillment of contractual obligations. However, why should the local organs be fully responsible for the incomplete delivery of products to union stocks in this case if, say, the USSR Gossnab and the Gosplan do not assume responsibility for supplies to the economy?

Apparently, there will not be an overall success unless all parties assume responsibility for their segment of work. The current principles of resource allocation have not been fine-tuned. This is, apparently, one of the reasons why the plan for 1990 is unbalanced and incomplete.

The issues raised by me have not emerged overnight or recently. We have talked about the problems with the plan and budget for the coming year at the USSR Gosplan and other union organizations many times. There has been no response. People's deputies from Latvia sent a telegram to the USSR Supreme Soviet; however, there have not been real actions either. This is why I once again urgently ask you to consider the issues raised with regard to the draft plan of socioeconomic development for 1990 for the Latvian SSR in keeping with our requests.

Thank you for your attention.

***

Following the speech by Deputy V. Bresis, a Latvian Information Agency special correspondent at the USSR Supreme Soviet session interviewed him.

[Prokoshenko] What can you add to what you have said from the speaker's stand at the session?

[Bresis] A lot might be added—there are a great many problems, especially due to the lack of resources. In general, this is an entire complex of issues solutions to which ultimately hinge on the new economic mechanism associated with the Law on Property, the sovereignty of the republic, the principles for its mutual relations with the center and other republics. We should have new forms for solving all economic issues. Much to our regret, old forms are used ad present under new names.

[Prokoshenko] Could we say that the draft plan and budget for 1990 are impeding the process of transition to the principles of economic independence in the Baltic republics?

[Bresis] Unambiguously so. Economic independence presupposes the retention of a large segment of revenues by the republic rather than their transfer to a union fund. Secondly, plan-contracts between appropriate union and republic organs could become a guarantee of Latvian independence to a degree. The center has not consented to this thus far.

Late in the evening of 31 October the USSR plan and budget were adopted by a majority vote. The request by Deputy V. Bresis to set the rate of retention for the republic budget at 63.2 percent for Latvia did not gain support.

Latvia To Celebrate Republic Day, Christmas

LD1811115389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 18 Nov 889

[Text] A SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent reports from Riga that for the first time during the years of Soviet power Latvians will celebrate the Day of the Republic. It must be said that until recently attitudes toward this holiday were far from straightforward.

The fact is that the state independence of Latvia was declared for the first time on 18 November 1918. This set the start for the former bourgeois state. After joining the USSR this date was struck out of the history of the Latvian people. Many Latvian scholars and public figures stress that the republic, the beginning of which was declared in 1918, played a considerable role in the development of national self-awareness and the preservation of the nation.

After a lively discussion, a majority of deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet also agreed with this. They adopted a new law on festive and memorable dates. Those who spoke stressed that 18 November should not be set in opposition to the anniversary of the Great October Revolution, for it is indeed thanks to that turning point in the history of many peoples that Latvia in due course was able to acquire independence in many respects. Soviet Russia was indeed the first to recognize the Latvian republic in 1920; it was only more than a year later that the major Western powers did so too.

In addition, the law establishes St. John's Day and Christmas as holidays; these will be celebrated in accordance with popular tradition on the days of the summer and the winter solstices, that is to say 24 June and 25 December.

Lithuanian Party Meeting With Politburo Reported

LD2111122189 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] The Sajudis information agency reports: An ordinary meeting of USSR People's Deputies took place at the education department of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet education department. The meeting discussed preparations for the USSR People's Congress. A decision was adopted to publish a book which would include all the laws and decisions adopted by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet as well as the most important documents of the Sajudis Seimas. The book should be published before the congress opens.

Kestutis Zalaeckas informed the deputies about the meeting of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau with the CPSU Politburo. The report by Zalaeckas was recorded by our correspondent.

Algirdas Brazauskas explained at the meeting that the idea to set up an independent Lithuanian Communist Party came from the rank-and-file members. He said that there were plans to sever all ties with the CPSU at once. The Politburo drew attention to the fact that preparations were openly under way for Lithuania to secede from the Soviet Union. But once again the answer was given that there were no intentions to sever all the ties at once. The Lithuanian Communist Party Bureau asked the leaders of the CPSU not to adopt such documents as the "Declaration on the Situation in the Baltics".

Eduard Shevardnadze, speaking at the meeting, said that [words indistinct] could cause a chain reaction in a number of republican communist parties.

Nikolay Ryzhkov caused surprise with his statement that 168 enterprises all-union enterprises could be transferred now to Lithuanian control. However, only two or three working collectives wish to do this.

The opinion expressed by Dmitriy Yazov absolutely coincided with that expressed in his recent interview to the newspaper PRAVDA. Viktor [as heard] Vorotnikov expresses sorrow that we, here in Lithuania, live best of all while at the same time poor Russia lives in poverty. Georgiy Razumovskiy spoke about possible split in the Lithuanian Communist Party. According to him about 40-50 percent of the Lithuanian Communist Party members will remain in the CPSU.

Yegor Ligachev spoke categorically against amending Article 6 of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR. Valerijonas Baltrunas spoke on the issues of ideology, and both the all-union and the Lithuanian mass media. Reproaches were also made to the leadership of the Soviet Union by the delegation of the Lithuanian Communist Party that the Soviet leaders did not state what kind of new Soviet Union they had in mind; they pointed out that at present the situation does not depend on the opinion of the Lithuanian Communist Party alone here in Lithuania.

Sajudis was also mentioned in the discussion as an organization which has deviated from the objectives expressed in its program.

As a result of the meeting the Politburo adopted a decision, unfortunately without the participation of the delegation of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

Deputies listening to K. Zaleckas [words indistinct].

Lithuanian Paper on Military Service Issue

LD2011233389 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] The serving of Lithuanian youths in the Soviet Army is said to be a tribute to the needs of the empire. Recently the Military Commissariat of Lithuania has received nearly 150 official refusals to serve in the army. According to international law citizens of an occupied country cannot be forced to do military service in its army. However, we are considered to be citizens of the Soviet Union in spite of becoming them illegally. The weekly GIMTASIS KRASTAS reminds readers that the 79th article of the Criminal Code provides a jail sentence from 1 to 5 years for refusing to do military service. We are still governed by the laws of the Soviet Union so the situation is rather difficult. An independent organization, Geneva 49, has been set up in Lithuania to help those who have refused to serve in the army. Youths are refusing to do obligatory military service in other parts of the Soviet Union, as well. In Moscow alone 600 young men have handed in their official refusals. The difference is that Russians are not being labelled as nationalists.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Proceedings

90UN0280A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 4 Nov 89 pp 1, 3

[Information Report on the 14th Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic of the 11th Convocation]

[Text] **First Sitting**

The 14th Session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation began its work on 3 November of the current year at 1000. The chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, Lenginas Shepetis, presided over the session.

Deputies approved the proposal of the presiding officer that the work of the Supreme Soviet be immediately broadcast over radio and, in the evening, be transmitted by video recording.

Deputy Pranas Gabrenas, a special pensioner, proposed that the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting, USSR People's Deputy Domiyonas Shnyukas, provide an explanation with respect to presentation of a subject degrading to the dignity of the deputies on the television program "Veydrodis."

The following agenda was proposed for the session:

1. Drafts of the Law on Citizenship in the Lithuanian SSR and the Law on Amending the Second Part of Article 57 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution.

2. Drafts of the Law on the Lithuanian SSR Referendum and the Law on Amending Article 5 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law).

3. The draft Law on amending Article 50 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law).

4. The draft Law on Elections of Deputies of the Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR.

5. Information on ownership relationships in the Lithuanian SSR and the USSR.

6. Ratification of ukases of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, procedures for applying Article 70 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law), and information on resolutions adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

7. The suspension on Lithuanian SSR territory of the validity of resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Government on matters of extending housing privileges to certain categories of individuals.

8. Responses to deputy inquiries and questions.

At the inducement of his constituency, Deputy Vytautas Laurushas, rector of the Lithuanian Conservatory, proposed that the question of supplementing the composition of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet again be included in the session agenda. Appearing on behalf of USSR people's deputies, Algis Mitskis, department head of the Kaunas Medical Academy, expressed the desire to establish a committee under Supreme Soviet auspices engaged in developing a program of activity on the restoration of Lithuanian independence. Both of these proposals were included in the agenda. The questions of agenda and working procedures were addressed by Deputy Algimantas Brazaytis, head of the Main Administration for Literary Publications of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, Deputy Niyole-Milyute Romanchikene, production training instructor at the Kaunas Man-Made Fiber Plant imeni 50th Anniversary of October, and Deputy Alfonsas Kayryalis, special pensioner.

The deputies approved working procedures for the session, the session's secretariat, and the vote-counting group.

The session chairman proposed that deputies vote on adoption of the draft on amending the wording of Article 15 of the Regulations of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The new version of the article was approved by a majority of votes; henceforth, voting on matters of amendments to the constitution, adopting laws and resolutions, and the appointment, election, and dismissal of responsible officials of organs formed by the Supreme Soviet will be conducted by open voting procedure; matters of internal working procedure of the session—by electronic voting device.

Information on the first question on the agenda was provided by Deputy Pranas Kuris, Lithuanian SSR Minister of Justice and chairman of the commission on drawing up the draft Law on Lithuanian SSR Citizenship.

The speaker responded to questions posed by Deputy Yonas Guretskas, special pensioner; Deputy Pranas Gabrenas, special pensioner; USSR People's Deputy Zita Shlichite, lawyer at the Klaypedskaya Legal Consultation Office; and Deputy Yustas Paletskis, director of the ideological section of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

The following individuals participated in the debate on this draft law: Deputy Romas-Kostas Blyudzhyus, driver at the Klaypedskiy motor pool; Deputy Genrikas Yatskyavichyus, first deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR State Planning Committee; Deputy Romualdas Ozolas, chief editor of the newspaper ATGIMIMAS; USSR People's Deputy Gennadiy Konoplev; Deputy Aleksey Grishin, electrician at the Tevishke Kolkhoz [collective farm] in Shirvintskiy Rayon; Deputy Stasis Apanavichyus, chairman of the Party Control Commission of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party; Deputy Gleb Petrov, adjuster at the Elfa Electrical Engineering Plant in Vilnius; Deputy Algimantas Brazaytis, director of the Main Administration for Literary Publications of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers; USSR People's Deputy Mechis Laurinkus, junior research assistant at the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences; USSR People's Deputy Egidiyus Bichkauskas, investigator of especially important matters for the Lithuanian SSR Procuracy.

A deputy commission was formed for preparation of the final draft Law on Lithuanian SSR Citizenship.

It was proposed that the deputies vote on the draft of the amendment to the second part of Article 57 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution. The new version of this article was approved by a majority of votes.

The presiding officer familiarized the body with inquiries, questions, and letters from the people directed to the Supreme Soviet.

Second Sitting

Chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Lenginas Shepetis presided over the evening session.

Deputy Pranas Kuris, Lithuanian SSR Minister of Justice and chairman of the drafting committee for the draft Law on Lithuanian SSR Citizenship, took the floor. He acquainted the body with the results of discussion of deputies' proposals on perfecting the law. Each proposed amendment was voted upon separately; a vote was then taken with respect to the draft Law on Lithuanian SSR Citizenship as a whole.

The law was approved by a majority of the votes (three votes were against). Discussion was conducted with respect to the second question on the agenda—the draft Law on the Lithuanian SSR Referendum and draft Law on Amending Article 5 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution. Speaker Alfonsas Bernotas, chairman of the Commission for Legislative Proposals of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and executive committee chairman of Ukmergskiy Rayon Soviet, responded to questions posed by Deputy Genrikas Yatskyavichyus, first deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee]; USSR People's Deputy Egidiyus Bichkauskas, investigator of especially important matters of the Lithuanian SSR Procuracy; and Deputy Anatoliyus Rasteyka, architect.

A deputy commission was formed to draw up drafts for the above.

Participating in debate were: Deputy Anitsetas Bagdonas, deputy chief of the Administration for Technical Progress and Economic Development of the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Municipal Economy; Deputy Yuozas Yutsyus, first secretary of Birzhayskiy Raykom [rayon party committee] of the Lithuanian Communist Party; and Kazimeras Moteka, lawyer at Vilnius Legal Consultation Office No 1.

The third point on the agenda was announced—on the draft Law "On Amending Article 50 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution." Vladislavas Domarkas, rector of Kaunas Polytechnical Institute and chairman of the Commission on People's Education and Culture of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, spoke on this subject.

USSR People's Deputy Yulyus Yuzelyunas, professor of the Lithuanian Conservatory, also addressed this matter.

The deputies unanimously approved the new version of Article 50 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution.

Vanda Klikunene, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, made a speech regarding the fourth question on the agenda—the draft Law on Elections of Deputies of Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR.

A resolution was approved regarding formation of a drafting committee for preparation of the final draft of this law and introducing it for discussion at the next session.

The following point on the agenda was discussed—on approving the ukases of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and on the procedures for applying Article 70 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution. Information was also provided on resolutions adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The floor was given to Secretary of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Lyudvikas Sabutis.

The following individuals presented their views on procedures for adopting and applying the laws: USSR People's Deputy Bronislovas Genzyalis, professor at Vilnius University; USSR People's Deputy Kazimeras Uoka; Deputy Romualdas Ozolas, chief editor of the newspaper ATGIMIMAS; and Deputy Algimantas Brazaytis, director of the Main Administration for Literary Publications of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers.

Deputy Genrikas Zabulis, Lithuanian SSR Minister of People's Education, elaborated on the question of adopting statutes concerning colleges. Deputy Romualdas Sikorskis, Lithuanian SSR finance minister, spoke concerning procedure for applying Article 70 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution, as did Deputy Vytautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, USSR People's Deputy Gennadiy Konoplev, and USSR People's Deputy Egidiyus Bichkauskas, investigator of especially important matters of the Lithuanian SSR Procuracy.

Ukases and resolutions of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet were confirmed; procedures were outlined for applying Article 70 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution in the republic.

Deputy Alfonsas Bernotas, chairman of the drafting committee for preparing the draft Law on the Lithuanian SSR Referendum, took the floor and familiarized the body with the results of discussion of deputies' proposals.

Discussions and voting took place on individual articles of the draft Law on the Lithuanian SSR Referendum. The deputies unanimously approved this law and established procedures for putting it into effect. They also approved the new version of Article 5 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution.

The presiding officer acquainted the body with new inquiries and questions of deputies.

Here the evening conference ended.

Estonian Parliament Debate on Election Law Viewed

PM2111170389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 89 p 2

[G. Sapozhnikova report under rubric "Own Correspondent's Column": "A Hundred Laws Lie Ahead"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Law on Elections to the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet has finally been adopted.

Last Thursday all those "who don't want to be second-class people and to feel as if they are occupiers in Estonia" were called to a meeting by a voice through the loudspeaker of a minibus traveling round Tallinn. About 15,000 of those who so desired assembled.

The rally, which was organized by the International Movement of Working People, the United Soviet of Labor Collectives, the Republic's Strike Committee, and the Union of War Veterans, and Armed Forces and Internationalist Soldiers, was called "For Equal Rights," as was the deputies group which a few days before this pointedly walked out of the USSR Supreme Soviet session conference hall. But nevertheless, the actual deputies in whose support the rally was organized, were hardly going to agree with everything mentioned in the square, particularly with the resolution's basic theses. Another thought which was expressed was: The Law on Elections to Estonian SSR local soviets should be regarded as inoperative on the republic's territory because it contradicts the USSR Constitution, and so the forthcoming elections should be boycotted altogether.

The next morning the national flags which have already become a feature of each Estonian parliament sitting had to make room. Because a second picket had planted itself in the porch of the Russian orthodox church directly opposite the entrance to the Toompea Palace where the sessions usually take place. So they stood, each in turn greeting his own deputy. Some had red flags, others had blue, black, and white ones. And everything was fine—they stayed there very peacefully without mutual insults and shouting. Once, admittedly, an argument among the pickets did erupt over the slogan "Quit fooling the people." The "blue, black, and white" side asked the "red" side to give them this placard, claiming that it suited them better... But these are details.

Meanwhile the deputies of the "For Equal Rights" group, after conferring, decided to return to the session. And, of course, they did the right thing because the defense of human rights can only be discussed in the conference hall or at the negotiating table, and not at rallies and demonstrations. In addition, the presence of this group in the hall will continue to be simply essential if only because within the framework of the concept of republic economic accountability the Estonian parliament has to renew about 100 laws, and they are virtually all one way or another bound up with politics.

This time, admittedly, the "For Equal Rights" group, which took part in the third reading of the draft law on elections and in the discussions, all the same refused to participate in the vote, citing the voters' will and the fact that a number of provisions of the republic draft law do not accord with the USSR Constitution. Nonetheless the Law on Elections to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet was adopted by a majority of votes, and the compromise which both sides were seeking for so long looks like this now: The "residence qualification" for the candidate deputies remains in force, it is equivalent to 10 years, but everyone has the right to vote, regardless of how long they have been living in the republic.

As Vladimir Malkovskiy, deputy chairman of the "For Equal Rights" deputy group, said in an interview with KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the compromise may really suit both sides in this form. And Vladimir added that at the present level of democratization in Estonia the numerous protests by their group in various forms are no longer an extraordinary event, but parliament's normal work, the path to dialogue and wisdom for which Estonia has always been famous and which it needs so much today.

Estonian Communist Party Officials Interviewed

LD2111151989 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1200 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Interview with Estonian Communist Party Secretary Mikk Titma and Juri Raidla, first secretary of the Parnu Rayon Committee, by reporter Mart Siimann—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Siimann] I have a very serious question to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary. Why has our party, the Estonian Communist Party, not adopted a stance in respect to the 1940 events?

[Titma] I would not agree. Both in official documents as well as in speeches, we have adopted quite an unambiguous stance. I would dare to claim that I personally was the first person to speak and write about that incorporation.

[Siimann] Quite a few questions have been asked over the phone about the latest Supreme Soviet session and the question is asked: would it not be the high time now—after the previous Supreme Soviet session which provided a just assessment of the 1940's events—to convene a forum of all public progressive movements, or at least a conference of the leaders of those movements, which would then jointly plan steps for the Estonian movement toward independence. And why should not, for example, the Estonian Communist Party display initiative on this matter and convene such a conference or forum?

[Titma] Such an initiative would certainly be possible. Naturally, there is a difference. I would like to add to the previous answer. Well, unofficially, the occupation and, say, the idea of the incorporation definitely had an immediate effect in the 1940s, and particularly abroad. Estonians living abroad talked about this. But official

activity, so to speak, in the name of the government and the authority, is something different. And if we now talk about Estonia's path to independence, then naturally, the official activity of the party of the kind which is in power is restricted here up to a point. We must take into account that the CPSU to which we belong possesses certain stances and, naturally, those can be influenced, under the present circumstances, and to a certain degree we are indeed—for the Estonian people—mediators between the relations between the CPSU and the Estonian people. Or, to put it more simply, regulators of the relations between Moscow and the people, the Estonian people, and we endeavor to act here.

Now, would it be sensible here to display this initiative? Well, that is the question. Particularly at present, with the power situation in Moscow being on the whole, complicated; let us put it so. [passage omitted]

[Siimann] Mikk Titma and Juri Raidla have recently returned from the United States. The question is asked whether your visit was at the invitation of the Communist Party over there. [passage omitted]

[Raidla] Naturally we did not stay over there at the invitation of the Communist Party, and hence one could indeed arrive at a conclusion that we went to do ideological work. But the truth is far from it. [passage omitted]

[Titma] What is also of importance is that we were received by the Heritage Foundation, which is one of the most conservative organizations in the States. And we knowingly accepted these links because it is important to us that very conservative political circles would begin to take us seriously and would view us in the way of a possible channel through to the union market, and for this reason we would be able to use our own main economic resource which we possess—that is the location between the West and the East which historically has brought us difficulties as well as triumphs. And in the given case it must be achieved that we could turn it to our advantage and would achieve through this our real sovereignty which is based upon a real resource. [passage omitted]

[Siimann] Many people have asked and shown interest as to what will become of the Estonian Communist Party. It is being claimed that a split is inevitable; it is even claimed that a split on a nationality basis is inevitable. A mood of indifference prevails.

[Titma] Here the state of affairs is quite tricky. First of all, the Estonian Communist Party, being in power at present—right—is responsible for the Estonian people, for all possible future scenarios, even black ones. Even in that case the Estonian people will survive and one must ensure the interests of the Estonian people. Secondly, consequently it would be sensible to postpone the resolving of party issues, to wait with them until the likelihood of black scenarios has been reduced to the minimum, which in essence means February of next year. We have also decided that the party congress will be convened after that.

And another point which one has to consider: so long as the CPSU exercises power in the Soviet Union, the role of the Estonian Communist Party is naturally very big. And one has to understand that at one time the entire coup in Estonia was carried out only practically, well, with 100 or so comunists, that is, simply making use of the Estonian Communist Party label. We must ensure that never again will the label of the Estonian Communist Party be used against the Estonian people, and that we would always be the ones who in fact make a stand against this.

[Siimann] You said that the Estonian Communist Party will be responsible for any scenarios for the future, whatever they may be. Is it also responsible for the past?

[Titma] Naturally. We have always been saying this and we provide corresponding assessments and point out where the Estonian Communist Party's responsibility lies and where in fact the CPSU's responsibility lies, and where the boundaries for the Estonian Communist Party's activity lies. [passage omitted]

[Siimann] What is your attitude toward the article of the Constitution which talks about the leading role of the CPSU in Soviet society?

[Titma] So much has been said on this issue and there is probably no cause for a long debate here. It is quite normal that this article will be removed from the constitution, and this is what will inevitably happen in the near future both in Estonia and—I am sure—in the Soviet Union as a whole. [passage omitted]

[Siimann] And so, a question about the Russian-language mass media in our republic as a whole. What is the state of affairs in your opinion, and what are the problems? Because at present it indeed seems that a number of concerns originate from the fact that the people have not understood some issue or other. Yet at the same time we see page after page of materials which are very remote from Estonian issues.

[Titma] For a start, I would immediately argue that one should not imagine that a differing viewpoint stems from the fact that the matter has not been understood. One will simply have to see that the interest is different underneath. And if one now looks at the Russian-language mass media, it is in a very difficult situation. A large section of the people want to be in the midst of Estonia, yet at the same time, a large section of non-Estonians have not as yet placed themselves in Estonia, from the point of view of their interest. They as yet are in fact living in the Soviet Union, and let us say, in the union of the stagnation period where they in essence identify the interests of the Russian people, the great-power interests, with the interests of the union, and they see their mission in Estonia in carrying out those interests in reality in Estonia.

[Siimann] And so it is time for the last question. And this question would be: a prognosis for the next weeks. Will this tension grow considerably, or will today remain as a

stage only at some new level but with no considerable increase in tension? Do you see that there will be some kind of stabilization or is a sudden increase still a possibility?

[Titma] I personally fear that the tension will still increase much more because it is completely clear that the idea of setting up a north-eastern Estonian oblast will begin to be implemented under a smokescreen. That is for certain. And for this reason we—with Comrade Vyalyas [first secretary of Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee]—will also go to Moscow and will endeavor to introduce this question to the top leadership of the union and to demonstrate what are the possible paths of development emanating from activity of this kind. [passage omitted]

Estonia's Titma on Party Relinquishing Power

PM2011093589 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 14 Nov 89 p 12

[FINSKA NOTISBYRAN dispatch: "Estonia: Communists Willing To Go Into Opposition"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian Communist Party is ready to hand over power to others completely, if that is what the Estonians want, party chief ideologist Mikk Titma has said. However, he indicated at the same time that no other political grouping in Estonia is willing to assume responsibility for Estonia's future and for contacts with Moscow.

Politburo member Mikk Titma told Finnish journalists in Tallinn yesterday that the decision to hand over power would probably come into effect in December. On Sunday [12 November] Estonia's Supreme Soviet submitted a proposal for constitutional changes to a preparatory committee. According to normal parliamentary practice, the change in the law could come into force as early as December.

Titma described Sunday's decision by the Estonian Supreme Soviet to declare invalid the annexation of the republic by the Soviet Union in 1940 as a natural challenge.

"The declaration of invalidity is a challenge to the leadership in Moscow. It is not so much about history as about today's politics; the declaration creates a new situation between the leadership and Estonia," Titma said.

However, he also said in a somewhat conciliatory tone that the declaration clearly notes that Estonia is not "divorcing" itself from Moscow, and that friendly ties with the Soviet Union are of the utmost importance for Estonia in the future.

"It is important to note that the whole world supports Gorbachev and perestroyka. We are acting according to his prescription and are thus not against him."

Titma is convinced that a separate currency is necessary in order to get Estonia's economy on its feet. And the Estonians are prepared to fight for this if Moscow is obstructive.

ESSR Official on New Currency Certificates

904A0044d Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 19 Oct 89 p 1

[Interview with Urve Nyu, head of the Department for Protecting the Domestic Market of the ESSR Gosplan, by Ya. Tolstikov, SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA correspondent: "Certificates Starting Next Year?"]

[Text] **The ESSR [Estonia Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers has made the decision to put certificates (payment notes) into circulation beginning in January 1990. A portion of the fixed incomes of the republic's population will now begin to be paid namely in these certificates. What will these certificates be, what is their purpose, what are the procedures for issuance and exchange for rubles, and so forth? Our correspondent Ya. Tolstikov talks about this with Urve Nyu, head of the Department of Internal Market Protection of the ESSR Gosplan.**

[Tolstikov] Probably the most important question, what is the purpose of these certificates?

[Nyu] The certificates are one of the measures for protecting the internal republic market. In the situation of general inflation, devaluation of money in the country, and an ever-increasing shortage of goods, including everyday goods, we are forced to take such steps. However, the certificates, it is planned, will serve to protect the market not only from guests of the republic but also in part from its own populations—those who, having the opportunity during work time to run to the stores, get for themselves goods that are now in short supply.

[Tolstikov] To whom and in what amount will the certificates be issued?

[Nyu] A certain percentage of wages, pensions, stipends, benefits, fees, and other fixed incomes will be paid in the form of certificates beginning in January 1990.

[Tolstikov] An equal percentage of income for each person?

[Nyu] Yes, an equal percentage for each.

[Tolstikov] What are fixed incomes?

[Nyu] These are incomes which a person receives through official channels, incomes on which the tax to the state has already been paid. Fixed incomes also include payments for agricultural products turned over by the population to state trade or to ERSPO stores.

"Illegitimate" income and private transactions of citizens, naturally, are not paid with certificates. Thus the honest worker is given an advantage over the opportunist.

[Tolstikov] What if a person "earns too much," for example, works not at one job but at two, and earns not one wage but one and a half or two? What about those who run cooperatives? Prices for products are still far from perfection, won't it turn out that some people will begin receiving certificates they do not deserve?

[Nyu] This question is now being examined. It is quite possible that a specific wage ceiling will be established, above which certificates would no longer be payable.

[Tolstikov] Can savings bank deposits be exchanged for certificates?

[Nyu] No, we have not provided for this.

[Tolstikov] What will the income quota be that can be paid in certificates?

[Nyu] A precise percentage has not yet been determined. Let me explain. An independent commission of the ESSR Council of Ministers for regulation of the internal market will determine this quota each month. The commission will be made up of the ministers of trade, finance, and agricultural industry, and the leaders of a number of other republic departments. The size of the quota will depend on the availability of goods on the internal market that are in high demand. This will also determine the issue of new securities, that is, the size of the quota.

[Tolstikov] There have already been reports in the press that 20-25 percent of wages will now be paid in certificates. Is this figure valid?

[Nyu] I cannot say exactly. I can only note that all the basic goods and day-to-day products will continue to be sold for rubles. This includes, for example, basic food products—meat and dairy products, baked goods, basic types of clothing, except especially stylish clothing, everyday footwear, the basic assortment of furniture (except imported furniture), all passenger cars, and all types of services will continue to be paid for with rubles. Naturally, we will continue to use rubles to purchase passes to rest homes, sanitariums, and so on and so forth. Generally speaking, 70 percent of all commodity stocks now being distributed by funds will continue to be sold for rubles.

[Tolstikov] What about alcohol?

[Nyu] There are two plans. According to one, alcohol will be sold using coupons (for example, the same way sugar is now sold). According to the second, it will be sold using certificates. There is a hope, I think, that the demand for alcohol will be reduced somewhat in this case. With the availability of goods and needed goods in the certificate stores, some people would rather buy something their family needs instead of a bottle of vodka for their own pleasure. If "excesses" appear, we will also begin selling alcohol for rubles. The republic government still has to make a decision on this account.

[Tolstikov] There are rumors going around that prices for certain goods will increase with the introduction of certificates.

[Nyu] There most likely will not be any certificate kopecks, so the prices for certain items will have to be rounded off to the ruble, and it is not ruled out that a number of goods will increase in price by tens of kopecks as a result. As far as an official increase in retail prices is concerned, including for meat and dairy products, there has been no decision on this and the rumors are unfounded.

[Tolstikov] So, there will be certificates. In January a person will walk up to the cashier's window....

[Nyu] He will receive part of his pay in certificates. I will emphasize here that this is absolutely voluntary. You can still continue to receive it all in rubles. There will be a free exchange of certificates for rubles, but, of course, not rubles for certificates.

[Tolstikov] But won't there be speculation in this connection? All highly fashionable and scarce goods will now be sold for these payment notes, and their price for the population will inevitably increase compared to the ruble.

[Nyu] An accurate observation. In order to stop speculation, it is planned to make the rate of exchange of the certificate for rubles free, "floating," and dependent only on the demand for these securities. A citizen having certificates will be able to sell them freely at the savings bank for rubles—at a rate of exchange which is in effect at that moment.

[Tolstikov] That is, at the "black market" exchange rate?

[Nyu] If you want to put it that way, yes. In all developed countries of the West, securities are freely sold and bought on the market at that exchange rate which exists at the moment the transaction is made. We will also have something similar to this.

[Tolstikov] What if the rate jumps to 1:2 or 1:3 in favor of the certificate?

[Nyu] Citizens of moderate means primarily will gain from this, for example, pensioners. They will be able to exchange (sell) their certificates for rubles at a profitable rate. However, I do not think that the exchange rate will be so high. You see, it will depend on the availability of goods for sale for certificates. For the time being, there are not that many.

[Tolstikov] Incidentally, where will you be able to buy these goods?

[Nyu] It is planned to open specialized stores trading only in certificates or departments in large stores. The

total volume of goods (in rubles) available for sale definitely should exceed the sum of certificates the population has. In other words, the following rule must definitely be observed: Each certificate ruble ensures the availability in the specialized stores of goods in great demand. There must be more of these goods than there are certificates for rubles. Otherwise, this entire venture makes no sense. Therefore, I will say again that the establishment of the quota for issue of certificates will be of great fundamental importance.

[Tolstikov] It turns out that the certificate is a prototype of a convertible ruble, that is, money which is completely backed by high-quality goods?

[Nyu] Yes, you can say that. Introducing the certificates is the first step towards a convertible currency.

[Tolstikov] What will these certificates be like?

[Nyu] The size of these securities will roughly correspond to the present money denominations. The certificates will be issued in denominations of 100, 50, 25, 10, 5, 3, and 1 rubles. Our artists are already preparing the sketches of the certificates, and they will be printed outside the republic. I can only say that one side will have inscriptions in the Estonian language and in the Russian language on the other. The inscriptions are completely identical, and there is complete equality here. The procedure for issuing the certificates is being determined by the republic's Ministry of Finance. But, as I already said, at the same cashier's office where a person received his advance or payment, pension or stipend, they will pay him part of his income, if he wishes, in certificates at the same window.

[Tolstikov] Will a person be required to present identification documents to pay in certificates?

[Nyu] No, no documents will be required. You go to the store, make your selection, and freely make your purchase.

[Tolstikov] Will a person be able to keep these certificates in the savings bank?

[Nyu] Yes, such a possibility has been provided for the convenience of the population.

[Tolstikov] Are there opponents to the new securities?

[Nyu] Yes, and quite a few. Those who, as I already mentioned, run to the store during work time and who speculate on the shortage feel restricted. The trade workers themselves are hardly in favor, for now the shortage is slipping out of their hands.

[Tolstikov] Reports have already appeared in the press that, sooner or later, Estonia will introduce its own money. In the opinion of the chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers, R. Otsason, this will actually be accomplished beginning in July 1990.

[Nyu] Yes, there are those who support this point of view—to immediately switch to our own currency, bypassing the intermediate stage of certificates. But, in my opinion, it is expedient to introduce our own money only when we stop inflation, introduce a new retail price system, increase production of goods for the population, balance the market, increase pensions and benefits for those of moderate means, and so forth. Only then, and not before, is it feasible to talk about our own republic currency. It is necessary to prepare both the population and the economy for this. Moreover, as we know, the government has made the decision on introducing certificates.

[Tolstikov] Certificates are certainly not the only measure aimed at protecting the internal market?

[Nyu] No, not the only one. I will reemphasize: This is a forced measure, moreover of a prohibitive nature which is also undesirable. We are thinking of going in the future to positive economic measures in order to interest enterprises materially in delivering a larger proportion of goods to the internal market than they are now doing. If you fulfill obligations for deliveries of goods to the union market, sell all the remaining products to the republic at a profit for yourself. Of course, if the republic market has no need for this product, sell it to the union. That is, instead of bans, we will have economic incentives.

[Tolstikov] Thank you for the interesting and useful information.

Estonian People's Front Election Platform

90UN0250A Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 20 Oct 89 pp 3-4

[Election Platform of Estonian People's Front]

[Text] **Estonia, you stand on the threshold of a future that inspires hope! All of Eastern Europe is entering an era of the most major changes of the postwar period. The political-economic system thrust upon the peoples of Eastern Europe under the guise of socialism is being repudiated as a result of the natural internal development of society. Once again democracy and the intransient values of humanism are emerging victorious. The life-giving current of these changes is carrying us along with it. Will we be able to again melt into the family of European peoples? And if so, how? Our people have been given yet another chance, which obligates us to take maximum advantage of the opportunities which have arisen and make our contribution to the rebirth of Eastern Europe.**

The Estonian People's Front was born a year and a half ago out of the people's desire to again become masters of their destiny. Today we have reached a new stage in our aspirations, where without resolute changes in the political system it is impossible to move forward in implementing our socioeconomic programs and moral ideals.

In comparison with the Eastern European countries, which have retained their statehood at least formally, the political aspirations of the Baltic peoples have run into the ideological defensive wall of a united and indivisible empire: the inviolability of a one-party system, the great-power interpretation of internationalism, the deification of imperial truths. The breaking up of structures of centralized authority in the Baltic will unavoidably cause breakups in other locations as well, and this will give rise to a universal fear of effecting changes. The additional obstacles which arise here threaten our political development. The striving to maintain the existing power structure at any cost in the name of an illusory stability in fact aggravates the political and economic crisis and threatens to keep us lagging behind the increasing rate of development in Eastern Europe. Here we see the inevitability of a new political self-determination for all popular movements in Estonia.

The coming elections are an important stage in this self-determination. We are standing on the edge of a multi-party political system, and the elections are therefore becoming the touchstone for all operational programs of the political forces that are participating in the elections, for their clarity, viability, and effectiveness. We are certain that during the course of the elections we will see a watershed between democratic forces fighting for freedom of thought, moral values, and pluralism, and those forces which strive to retain authoritarian, unified leadership and ideological dogma. It is precisely this distinction, and not interethnic conflicts, which the People's Front had in mind in the development of its platform.

This platform supplements and develops the general program of the People's Front and is the guide to action for all deputies nominated from the People's Front, later as members of the parliament and government. The platform affords the people the opportunity to evaluate the ability of the People's Front and other political forces not only to proclaim, but also to implement plans for the construction of a new Estonia.

1. Place of People's Front in Structure of Political Forces

Over the year which has passed since the Constituent Congress of the People's Front was conducted, a significant regrouping of political forces has taken place. Many programs and platforms have undergone fundamental change; forces oriented in one direction have joined together in blocs. Formation of the main blocs (PNNE [Estonian National Independence Party], a segment of the Society for Protecting our Monuments (OOP), and the Christian Union—on the one hand; Intermovement, OSTK [Unified Council of Labor Collectives], internationalist servicemen and strike committees—on the other) has expanded the social base of extremes and threatens to inject principled ideological clashes in society with the blocs formed in the pre-election environment. Alternative evaluations of the current political situation in Estonia and possible future solutions have been introduced into the agenda. Under these circumstances it is important for the People's Front to define precisely, prior to the elections, the distinction between its own strategy and tactics and those of the other political forces of Estonia. Up until now the People's Front has fulfilled the role of a unique bridge or roof in the political life of Estonia, affording an opportunity for cooperation under its aegis to the most diverse groupings within the front. This has resulted in a variety of accusations being leveled against the People's Front—reproaches for lacking a well-defined program, as well as for cooperating now with the CPE [Communist Party of Estonia], now with the PNNE. A favorite device of Interfront is to call the People's Front the single, main enemy. Today both parties—the CPE and PNNE—first prior to the local elections and then the All-Estonia elections, have begun to dispose supporting groups of the People's Front toward their own platforms. The People's Front is prepared to cooperate on a practical basis at the regional level with all forces striving to promote the development of life in Estonia so as to attain economic and political independence. In so doing, the People's Front considers it necessary to explain its relationship to the activity of all these forces, both allies and rivals of the People's Front, in the pre-election competition. The People's Front considers Interfront and the other chauvinistic forces which have united with it to be rival forces. Right alongside it are the PNNE and political organizations which stand next to it, on the one hand, and the Communist Party of Estonia, on the other hand—which presently has the monopoly of power.

The CPE is playing a vital role in the elections, retaining its apparatus of influence, although its support among the people has diminished and the views of its adherents diverged. The social base of the CPE among Estonians—except for the party, soviet, and Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] aktiv—comprises a group small in number but well organized, which occupied its position with party support. The group includes people who work in the economy, education, culture, health care, and various organizations, who have tried to work as well as possible, adapting themselves to the existing system. Now that the system is collapsing, these people find themselves in the thankless position of being guilty of errors allowed by the system. The hope of "renewal along with the party" in the given situation affords a certain social protection and support to those who are as yet unable to free themselves internally from the system but who understand the unfairness of the criticism directed against them. To a certain degree, the CPE plays an analogous role of social protector for those representatives of the nonindigenous population who are annoyed at the identification of Russia with Stalinism in the mass consciousness of Estonians. Divergence of views in the party is broader than what would be found on the political scale of some West European state. Official CPE policy fundamentally disavows any readiness to change the structure of power—as it applies to itself or to others. The CPE maintains control over cadre placement and lays claim to a dominating political role.

It is characterized by an inadequate and ideologically colored self-image which obstructs its ability to make proper decisions even when they have been worked through. Proceeding in the interests of retaining its monopoly of power, the CPE opposes the multi-party system since it is not capable of existing as a political party without the present mechanism of authority (i.e., with an opposition).

Sensing the collapse, under the influence of new social forces, of its ideological and political mechanism for retaining power, the radical element of the CPE avows national aims as well and is attempting to throw off its organizational-ideological fetters, while at the same time maintaining the personal leadership role of the party in its argumentation. With the aim of broadening its social base, this wing of the party actively seeks contacts with the "liberal" part of the chauvinistic bloc, and is prepared pragmatically to compromise with them. Political maneuvering in the form of an independent party program is aimed at maintaining and reinforcing party influence among Estonians.

It is noteworthy that, in its political competitive activity, the radical wing of the CPE directs its criticism more at the People's Front—with which it has more in common program-wise (IME [Self-Managing Estonia], Estonian sovereignty)—than at Interfront, or even the PNNE. The situation is mindful of the traditional hostility between the Communist Party and social democrats.

In spite of the striving on the part of the CPE leadership to move away from the People's Front, coalitions between the party and People's Front are possible in certain regions for solving local problems.

If the Interfront concept of socialism is constructed from the Stalinist model, the CPE has no concept of socialism at all. It is true that the mechanism for authority has been retained, but at the same time the ideology designed to be put into effect by this authority has lost its meaning entirely. Unlike Intermovement, the CPE conducts a policy directed toward Estonians, but this is simply Moscow's policy adapted to local conditions. Thus, the CPE depends on central authority in its activity to a determining degree. It can function independently only under conditions of a liberal, central authority. The CPE leadership is presently experiencing difficulties in maintaining factual control over its subunits. Whereas the Russian section of the People's Front and the People's Front of the city of Narva pursue People's Front policy in its entirety, the Kokhtla-Yarveskiy and Narvskiy gorkoms [city party committee] and Tallinn raykoms [rayon party committee] conduct a policy that does not coincide with CPE policy. The policy directed toward Russians is limited by attempts to placate and avoid annoying the Russian-speaking population under the influence of Interfront; there are no constructive solutions.

To this day the CPE has failed to determine its place in the world political spectrum. Removed from international contacts, the CPE has no political partners in the West; IME presupposes cooperation with the East as well as with the West. At the same time, the CPE avoids entering into blocs with other communist parties in the USSR.

In the CPE concept, sovereignty amounts to a broadening of administrative rights. The people therefore have no confidence in the prospect that the CPE will not again subordinate national aspirations, on the one hand, to the aspirations of central authority, and on the other, to its own group interests, ready to repeat the mistake Estonian communists made in 1917-1918 when the entire community acknowledged individual statehood as the ideal, but the communists wanted to carry out world revolution. The CPE has not determined its relationship to the armed forces and KGB located in Estonia as a means of great-power arbitrary rule. Nor has it conducted a precise reevaluation of the future development of communism. The CPE is not taking into account the modern experience of social democracy, and is bypassing a genuine Marxist analysis of the question of the essence of socialism and the internal structure of society.

As a result of all this, the CPE lacks a well-defined theoretical base and gives way readily to the demagogy of Intermovement, which engages in manipulation with its slogans on the priority of the working class. Subordinate to CPSU statutes, the CPE is incapable of realizing its aspirations of independence. It finds itself in a quandary in its attempts in this regard, since it wants to become independent but is forced to remain in the fetters of decisions of a central authority. The CPE can become independent only when it ceases to be the CPE.

A coalition of great-power forces has acquired clear definition in Estonian political life—comprised of Interfront, strike committees, OSTK, and groups of internationalist servicemen. We are dealing with a protest movement here without any positive program.

The social base of this bloc is the opposition of approximately one-third of the non-indigenous population to the changes attendant to perestroyka in the economic and political-ideological spheres which have not resulted in improvement in economic conditions, but have rather taken away the feeling of social protection and uncovered hidden conflicts. It is easy to direct the dissatisfaction and aggression arising in this regard under Estonian conditions to ethnic grounds and find a particular sacrificial lamb—the People's Front, which might appear to be the guilty party for all the conflicts and misfortune.

Distinguishing features of the bloc's political platform are the following:

—dogmatism in the concept of socialism (barracks socialism, distributive socialism), where everything which deviates from the Soviet model is considered anti-socialist;

—the absence of a policy directed toward Estonians; the limitation provided by mechanically transferring all-union designs to Estonian application without

effecti ; changes; the lack of orientation on the Estonian e onomy and market, and on the world market; failure to understand the qualitative distinction between a federation and unitary state, not even to mention confederation; repudiation of the right of the peoples of the Soviet Union to self-determination;

—the absence of a link with agriculture; consideration of the working class as just industrial workers to whom appeals are to be directed;

—a hostile attitude towards the intelligentsia;

—failure to acknowledge political pluralism; totalitarian, imperial thinking; restriction of individual freedom and democracy;

—a Russian great-power mode of thinking, identifying things Russian with things Soviet and interpreting criticism of the system as nationalism;

—a striving to solve problems with the use of force, political blackmail, and arbitrary rule; application of the means of waging ideological struggle from Stalinist times, creating the image of enemy of the people as personified by progressive forces;

—mass psychology, using the actual hopes and fears of the Russian people as a means of waging political struggle and manipulating them, which will in fact inflict harm on the interests of the Russian population, deepening the split and mistrust between Russians and Estonians and hindering any cooperation;

—reliance on the extreme conservative forces of central authority while supporting them at the same time, creating for them a social base in the national republic and fulfilling the role of a fifth column in crushing aspirations of national liberation.

A true counterweight to the neo-Stalinist interpoliticians can be established only in that very same cultural medium, augmenting the political influence of Russian sections of the People's Front, Russian cultural societies, and the Association of the Peoples of Estonia. The contradiction between the People's Front and the Intermovement bloc is not ethnic in nature, but rather political and ideological; any coalition with it would therefore be a repudiation of its principles.

The bloc of PNNE, and portions of OOP and the Estonian Christian Union (EKhS), which have organized the movement of citizens' committees in Estonia, comprise a third appreciable force in the election struggle. The basis of this movement is the spontaneous striving of Estonians to achieve independence, formed in the background of the negative economic and political experience of past decades which repudiates all existing structures of authority. The only way of achieving sovereignty and a new, independent Estonia is seen in resurrecting the authority structures of Estonia's past—which are supported by the fact that the Estonian Republic remains judicially intact and Western policy does not recognize the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. Making predictions for the future, in which the Soviet Union falls apart "of its own accord" under the influence of economic difficulties on the one hand, and on the other—the proposition that the Western countries are prepared to assist in restoring a "de-facto" Estonian Republic, citizens' committees as a political movement do not consider it necessary to expend their efforts reducing economic and political pressure on Estonia through practical participation in the democratization of the Soviet Union. The movement is relying not on a transformation of existing Estonia, but on "clear repudiation." In the bloc's ideology sovereignty is primarily a judicial and ideological condition. There is no recognition of the fact that political development must have an economic basis. Therefore, the significance of IME in restructuring the economy and social life is underestimated. This bloc idealizes the political influence of the Estonian community abroad on official Western policy regarding the Baltic region, and does not adequately take into account the difference in indigenous and nonindigenous interests. It does not see a political force in the non-Estonian population. Up until now, the bloc has had no program for constructing a new Estonia after acquiring independence. It ignores actual structures of authority and the "de-facto" situation—the entire problem is dealt with on a "de-jure" level, and exaggerated, fateful significance is attributed to certain formal, judicial factors. In its mutual relations with other political forces, the PNNE-OOP-EKhS bloc willingly or unwillingly proceeds from the principle of confrontation between its own people and others. The bloc acknowledges only those parliamentary forms which have been handed down from the Estonian Republic, and is not prepared to recognize as a full-fledged parliament any other popular representation elected by democratic means.

Based on the above-mentioned factors, the People's Front opposes Intermovement and the chauvinistic forces that have formed blocs around it. At the same time, it detaches itself as well from the CPE and from the groupings which have consolidated around the PNNE.

In contrast to the CPE, the People's Front is striving to attain true political pluralism and to effect the immediate repeal of Article 6 of the ESSR Constitution. It considers it necessary that radical measures be undertaken to achieve true statehood for Estonia.

In contrast to the PNNE, the People's Front does not consider it possible to restore the Estonian Republic that disappeared in 1940 and has set for itself the aim of arriving at a new Estonian Republic. It views with skepticism the Congress of Estonia, as well as the need to establish an alternative representative organ. It sees the opportunity for restoring Estonian sovereignty with the help of a democratically elected Supreme Soviet and referendum reflecting the will of the people. It considers it important that the radical IME program be urgently put into effect, and that the particular interests of the Russian population of Estonia be taken into account and protected during the coming major changes.

The People's Front is striving to achieve a gradual transformation of the Estonian SSR into a democratic and independent Estonia through internal and external policy changes advantageous to us, the uniting of democratic national forces, and the exertion of constructive pressure on the power apparatus in both Tallinn and Moscow. The PNNE and organizations which have consolidated around it proclaim the Estonian Congress and citizens' committees to be the only true institution representing the Estonian people; desiring at the same time to maintain complete ideological control over this movement, they are essentially striving to achieve another single-party system in Estonia, in which the present CPE power monopoly would be replaced by an ideologically opposed—but similar in form of political activity—power monopoly on the part of the PNNE (exercised through citizens' committees). It is precisely due to the unilateral color of ideology of the citizens' committees and their subordination to single-party dictatorship—and not the repudiation of Estonian independence—that the People's Front of Estonia cannot unite organizationally with a citizens' committee. The People's Front categorically opposes the prospect that the status of citizen in an independent Estonia be tied to party and political aims, as was the case in the Stalinist Soviet Union.

The People's Front is prepared to effect practical cooperation both with the progressive element of the CPE and with the coalition of PNNE-OOP-EKhS in the name of stating a clearly defined goal: to free Estonia from the oppression of great-power forces and create the conditions for free self-determination on the part of the Estonian people (which is also the only way of resolving Estonia's ethnic conflicts), and for the restoration of Estonian statehood in a new form appropriate to the context of modern Europe.

With respect to the election campaign in certain regions, the cooperation of democratic and patriotic forces can have decisive significance in a victory over those who espouse neo-Stalinist and great-power views. But any coalition of the People's Front with other so-called patriotic forces is possible only on the basis of proper mutual appreciation and respect, on a realization by and interpretation for the people of their overall aims, as well as of the principal divergences seen in alternative means of achieving these aims. Unfortunately, in its political rivalry with the People's Front, the PNNE has taken advantage of methods of political struggle involving the unified, authoritarian control of the activity of members of their party, to include discrediting their political competitors, pinning black and white labels on them, applying demagogic distortions of positions taken by the People's Front during the course of political discussion, etc.

An important role as potential People's Front allies in the creation of a so-called centrist coalition—whose presence is especially significant for stability in political development—is played by the various movements which have sprung up around economic, social, and ecological problems: the Estonian Green Movement, Union of Labor Collectives, Central Union of Estonian Peasants, Engineers' Union, Doctors' Union, associations of legal experts, various other associations and foundations. The People's Front believes that only the combined activity of all these forces will be able to impart the full extent of power and authority to local organs of self-rule and create conditions for restructuring the framework of authority from party-centrist to parliamentarian. It is natural that priority in the period of development immediately to come be given to economic interests in the life of the people. The People's Front therefore relegates an especially important position to the unification of social movements for developing and implementing local economic, ecological, cultural, and social programs, and for protecting the interests of groups which lack social protection (senior citizens, invalids, young families, students, conscripts, etc.).

2. Political Stability as Condition for Progress

The elections in March 1989 showed that the people desire stability. All political forces in Estonia are appealing for stability, some for consolidation. The People's Front is also striving to achieve stability. This striving is based on the fact that it is attempting to establish only the conditions, forms, and guarantees of democracy and political pluralism, regardless of the specific aspirations of one or another political force under the conditions of pluralism. The People's Front holds a stable pluralism to be the norm and not the exception. It is not in the aim of the People's Front to give an unambiguous response to the questions of whether Estonia will remain within the USSR, whether there will be a presidential power in Estonia, since the aim of the People's Front is to create conditions—so that if the people wish to leave the Soviet Union, this should be possible; if the people wish a strong presidential authority, the basis for this will be established.

At the same time, the People's Front does not consider it possible to construct a future only under a slogan of stability, since the situation in society is extremely unstable and it is unrealistic to expect to achieve stability through the use of political slogans.

The internal political structure of society has not yet been formed to attain a condition of equilibrium. All the parties have not yet been established, all the movements have not yet arisen. The appearance of each new political grouping, the ripening of each political movement is constantly changing the arrangement of forces. Every major action directed from Moscow influences the state of equilibrium or changes it. Some of the political forces in Estonia are interested in tension and instability, which will enable them to expand their social base and manipulate the appearance of the enemy. These forces are interested in instability since this evokes a feeling of uncertainty and the desire to be propped up by a powerful authority, which can turn out to be a life preserver. It is in the form of a life preserver and

stabilizing factor that these forces present themselves, while actually concerned with increasing tension.

Instability is in the hands of the CPE, PNNE, and Intermovement. As a politically experienced organization, the CPE is accustomed to operating in complicated, unclear situations, in an atmosphere of constant intraparty struggle for power, and sees advantages for itself under conditions of tension and instability—for it is then that CPE centralism, its all-powerful ideological apparatus, and its fiat in dictating cadre policy play an important role.

The PNNE is inclined to deny reality—there is therefore no room for stability even in its slogans. The PNNE path lies unavoidably across cataclysms—from one static condition to another.

CPE and Interfront ideology is dominated by some undefined "status-quo," an unstable factor since it lacks development.

The People's Front opposes the "status-quo" and the chains of a stable resting in place. It is in favor of a balanced, but at the same time dynamic system in which changes occur through evolution. World history shows that this is actually the most stable condition.

The people do not wish to mark time and reinforce the great-power tendencies on which Interfront is oriented nor do they want to move forward too slowly, the result of vacillation in the political line of the CPE. But, most likely, the people do not want upheaval either, which is what the movement of citizens' committees led by the PNNE can inevitably lead to.

3. Political Aspirations of People's Front

The first task of the People's Front as a political force in the process of formation was to change the mechanism of power which had come to exist in Estonia in that period (1988), based on an undemocratic, single-party dictatorship. In its first year of activity, the People's Front succeeded in weakening the monopoly of party authority and the force of political and economic pressure from top to bottom, facilitating in this manner the open functioning of all other political forces in Estonia. Through the People's Front, tens and hundreds of thousands of people became involved in politics who had earlier been deprived of any opportunity of influencing events. Popular pressure on the power apparatus was an important force which helped to avoid appreciable deviations in or repudiation of a policy directed toward sovereignty in Estonia.

The People's Front considers determination of the possibilities for political development in Estonia, both near future and long-range, to be an extremely important aim of its election platform.. The cornerstone of the People's Front election platform is **the step-by-step transition from the status of a sovereign union republic of the Soviet Union to the status of a state not dependent upon the Soviet Union, an ally; the next aim is to become an independent state in a demilitarized, neutral Balto-Scandinavia.**

The political content of the People's Front election platform presents specific possibilities for effecting realization of this plan of transition. In this regard, the People's Front considers efficacious and worthy of confidence only that policy line which will provide answers to voters' questions on:

—what kind of an Estonia do we live in?
—what kind of Estonia do we want?
—how can we get there?
—what are the obstacles, how can they be overcome, and how long will it take?
—who are the allies and the enemies of the people and the People's Front in moving along this course?

In the Estonia in which we live, Estonians are worried about their future as a people. Added to this are everyday tension and a feeling of danger caused by growing pressure from within and without, aggression and the politics of force conducted by representatives of the central authority and industrial monopolies.

The Estonia in which we live is endowed with an ambiguous political status ("de-jure": we are an occupied territory whose indigenous population demands restoration of state independence; "de-facto": we are a republic of the Soviet Union whose proclaimed sovereignty is in fact restricted).

In the Estonia in which we live, the quantity of Soviet troops is such that the interests of the permanent residents are seriously threatened and grounds have been created for social, ecological, and ethnic conflict.

The Estonia in which we live has been affected in the most pernicious way by squeezing its economic life into the framework of a centralized, colonial, command economics system. This has led to decline in our little towns and villages. Our agriculture is drained; the balance of our industry has been violated. We see a collapse in trade and services. The air, water, and land have become polluted.

The Estonia in which we live has for decades been under the power of alien politics. Now the time has come to develop our own politics and our own political system, which must establish and safeguard democratic mechanisms of power so as to overcome inconsistencies and defend the interests of all permanent residents of Estonia.

The Estonia in which we live is so backward regarding refinements in the construction of its life, the rules of the game in politics and economics, in the form and content of its spiritual life, that we will all have to do the required studying and strain every nerve in order to attain the contemporary European level in all spheres.

The Estonia in which we want to live is still just being formed in our imagination and everyday labor. Only

time will tell if, in the future, it will be more like Hungary or Finland, more or less socialist in the European sense of the word, have closer business ties with the Soviet Union or with the West. There are several alternatives which, taking into account the free will of the people, will be examined by the parliament of the future Estonia. One thing is clear—it must be a **free and secure** home not only for Estonians, but for those non-Estonians who have decided with a full sense of responsibility to bind their destiny with Estonia.

The path leading from the Estonia of today to a free Estonia can only be peaceful, recognized internationally, and based on mutual agreement between Estonia and the Soviet Union. The People's Front promotes the slogan: "From a union republic of the Soviet Union—to a free state, to a **Republic**." This requires:

1) that the secret protocols of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 be acknowledged as invalid;

2) that the decisions of the State Duma of Estonia of 21 July 1940 be acknowledged as illegal and invalid;

3) that Estonia be acknowledged as an annexed territory;

4) that a referendum be conducted on the question of Estonia's state status—under international supervision, under conditions disallowing military intervention, and in accordance with international law;

5) that proposals be drawn up for negotiations with the central authority of the USSR and agreement be reached on the conditions and time frame for implementation of the results of the referendum;

These matters must be decided by deputies of all ranks, whose tasks will also include **formation of a constituent assembly** of the new Estonian Republic.

The People's Front believes that an Estonia engendered in this manner cannot be a copy of the Estonian Republic in its present form. This will be a new Estonian Republic which, although it will become the legal successor of the first one, will not be entirely like it—not in the structure of its economy, not in its form of property ownership, not in its structure of social life, not in the composition of its population. The building of the new Estonian Republic and the development of Estonia will entail the use, with feelings of gratitude, of the material and spiritual inheritance of the first Estonian Republic as well as the contribution of Estonians abroad. In the new Estonian Republic, gratitude and respect will be shown the efforts of those people who, in the years of Stalinism and stagnation, did everything they could to see that the industrial potential and natural environment of Estonia, its historical consciousness and the spiritual strength of the people, would be preserved in the Estonian SSR. The new Estonian Republic will operate based on a new constitution and will introduce its own citizenship. All citizens of the new and independent Estonia will enjoy complete freedom of contact with foreign states, and the rights and freedoms espoused in the Helsinki and Vienna agreements. The question of national-territorial self-government in regions having a foreign-speaking population will be decided by independent Estonia taking into account the interests of the ethnic minorities, but under the condition that they take into account the interests of Estonia and the Estonian population in conducting their activities.

A new, independent Estonia will be established on the basis of historical right and law, mutual tolerance, respect for individual freedom and human dignity, concern for orphans, older and incapacitated people, love of nature and culture, and a policy of peaceful cooperation with all neighboring countries in the east, north, west, and south.

These are the principles from which the political program of the People's Front proceeds and which are being implemented by People's Front deputies through local and republic organs of authority. The following **immediate** and **distant** aims comprise the basis of this program.

4. Immediate Aims

1) application to the full extent of the rights of the Estonian SSR as a sovereign union republic, restoration of an integral economic system through IME;

2) restoration of local self-rule in Estonia, decentralization of state authority and its maximum possible shift to local residents, full transfer of power to the territorial organs of self-government and provision for the economic basis of their activity;

3) development of political pluralism in Estonia, a multi-party system legally and factually in the activity of all elected organs of authority, protection of minority and opposition rights;

4) protection of the socioeconomic and political rights of the non-Estonian population of Estonia, their integration with Estonians around common interests and aims, protection of national interests in the form of safeguarding and exercising the rights of ethnic minorities to cultural autonomy; effective immigration restrictions through a Law on Migration and Migrant Employment;

5) creation of a feeling of confidence in the inhabitants of Estonia, protection of the inviolability of their residence, personal property, and person from increasing arbitrary rule and crime;

6) the beginning of a step-by-step demilitarization of Estonia, change in procedures for the conduct of military service and combat training according to principles of humanism, demilitarization, and aims of guaranteeing the security of Estonia;

7) development of political cooperation with other republics and democratic forces in the Soviet Union as a whole, with the aim of transforming the USSR from a unitary state into a union of sovereign states;

8) intensive development of foreign ties for Estonia; a political, economic, and cultural openness of Estonia to the outside world, the development of international cooperation, and Estonian participation in the activity of international organizations.

5. Final Aims

I. A step-by-step reduction in the strength of the armed forces in Estonian territory (the Baltic region) leading to full demilitarization of the territory.

II. Restoration of Estonian statehood.

III. International recognition of the new Estonian statehood. Estonian entry into international organizations as a sovereign state.

Premises for demilitarization and the peaceful restoration of Estonian statehood are:

1. **Internal political** stabilization in Estonia, so that the will of the people can be expressed democratically and unobstructedly both during elections and conduct of the referendum. This requires the fulfillment of three main conditions:

1) Replacement of the party-centrist mechanism of power (one result of which is continuing cabinet politics and manipulation of the will of the people), alleviating the pressure directed top to bottom of the all-union power apparatus against the power of the multi-party, permanently functioning parliament, and the freely elected local self-government controlled by the people. **Without independence, without representative and democratic organs of self-government, the peaceful development of Estonia on the path to autonomy is inconceivable!**

The People's Front believes that peaceful transition from the current status of annexed state to the emergence of a new Estonian Republic is possible and must become—for the majority of current inhabitants of Estonia—an understandable, acceptable, and desirable course of action, if they understand that only a free Estonia can provide all its citizens economic and social protection, all internationally recognized political rights and freedoms, full equality and the freedom to develop business and personal contacts with East and West. Implementation of the policies of the People's Front must instill the confidence that the development of Estonia toward becoming a democratic, independent state in no way presupposes violence or the deportation of anyone presently living in the Estonian SSR (if he is not a common criminal), but rather the development of political and economic ties with other peoples and republics of the Soviet Union on a basis of equal rights.

2) Practical participation of all patriotic and political forces in the formation of new parliamentary structures of authority.

3) Involvement of the progressive element of the non-Estonian population, which has adapted to Estonian conditions and is defending Estonian interests, in the politics of Estonia and in the organization of Estonia's legislative and economic life.

2. The presence of external conditions favorable to Estonia's transition to independence. On the one hand, this entails overcoming mistrust and prejudice on the part of progressively disposed political forces of the Soviet Union, the development of economic and political ties with other union republics, affirmation of the vitality of Estonia's economic potential and its coordination with the new politics between the USSR and the West, with the development of economic ties between East and West. On the other hand, it is necessary to explain the positive import of Estonia's acquisition of independence to political and business circles in the West, where against a background of great official interest people are nonetheless looking at this cautiously and dubiously.

The strengthening of economic ties and exchange of information, political contacts with the West and North, must be pursued on a clear legal and political basis and must be directed towards restoring the rights of Estonia as an entity of international life, but at the same time must maintain the policy of non-recognition until such time as Estonia's independence as a state is attained.

3. The over-saturation of Estonia with military forces is an obstacle in the path of the aspirations of the Estonian people to self-determination, and practically makes the Estonian people hostages to the USSR Armed Forces. As long as agreement with the USSR Government has not been reached allowing the Estonian government to control all the territory of Estonia, it is impossible to talk about sovereignty or about free self-determination. Consideration of USSR strategic interests in the region of the Baltic Sea must not ignore the security and interests of the peoples who live here, but must rather be based on mutual agreement and pursue the aim of first making the Baltic a non-nuclear region and then a fully demilitarized zone.

To provide a political guarantee of Estonian self-determination, it is necessary to draw up treaties with the Soviet Union both in the sphere of mutual political ties and economic cooperation and in the military sphere. These will become the basis for stable relations between Estonia and the Soviet Union irrespective of referendum results. These draft treaties should be drawn up in parallel with the restoration of historical right and justice, with preparation of the referendum, so as to be able to constructively present before the government of the Soviet Union the matter of self-determination. The basis for agreement between a new Estonian Republic and the Soviet Union must be the principles of mutual respect of sovereignty established in the Peace of Tartu of 1920.

The acquisition of true independence by Estonia, even with suitable referendum results, is naturally a long and complex process. It depends on how the international situation develops, and on bringing the state structure of

the USSR into conformance with principles of democratic federalism and a law-governed state. The process of integration in Europe which, beginning in May 1992 will radically change economic relations and foreign policy principles in Europe as well as mutual relations and forms of cooperation between East and West Europe, should create the context for the issue—still very difficult to resolve—of inviolability of borders.

Consequently, it is also necessary to establish for the period of transition a system of agreements and guarantees between the Soviet Union and Estonia which would enable Estonia, even during the time it finds itself part of the USSR, to develop its own economy and political system. Such guarantee could be provided by a state treaty for a fixed period, by which the Soviet Union would, for its part: a) incur the obligation to effect reduction in stages of its military presence in Estonia and secure the state border of the USSR in Estonian territory based on national-territorial military formations; b) ensure non-intervention by USSR Armed Forces in the political life of Estonia; c) ensure the independent participation of Estonia in international organizations and relations between states; d) ensure the independent participation of Estonia in international economic agreements and organizations; e) introduce independent Estonian citizenship, not related to USSR citizenship; f) provide for Estonia's complete state independence by a certain time.

Such an agreement should also contain **Estonian guarantees with respect to the Soviet Union** for the period the treaty is in effect in the economic, political, and military spheres (republic payments, participation in all-union programs, participation in external political relations and actions, period of presence and agreed-upon strength of military units, size of military bases).

The treaty should also contain guarantees for USSR citizens living in Estonia who do not accept Estonian citizenship.

In the People's Front concept, restoration of the independence of Estonia through parliamentary means consists of the following steps:

1) the democratic formation of local self-government and a Supreme Soviet;

2) the legally correct affixation and political recognition of the current state status of Estonia;

3) recognition of the independence of Estonia as a legal prospect of development by declaration of a referendum; transformation of the Supreme Soviet into a Constituent Assembly;

4) negotiations among the political forces of Estonia on forms of implementing the results of referendum; convocation of a forum of all political forces supporting the independence of Estonia (Estonian Congress);

5) establishment of necessary guarantees of trustworthiness regarding the referendum on the part of the government of the Soviet Union and international organizations;

6) negotiations and agreement with the government of the Soviet Union on the procedures for implementing referendum results and on treaty conditions;

7) conduct of the first referendum on the question of independence (with the participation of Estonians or citizens of the Estonian Republic and their descendants);

8) conclusion of a temporary state treaty between the Constituent Assembly of Estonia and the government of the Soviet Union (for the period prior to acquisition of independence);

9) introduction of Estonian citizenship;

10) the fashioning of a model of development for Estonia in economics and politics;

11) development of a system of foreign ties between Estonia and the East and West;

12) demilitarization of Estonia in stages;

13) determination of a state structure for independent Estonia (a second referendum—on the question of the Fundamental Law—with the participation of Estonian citizens of all nationalities);

14) proclamation of an independent Estonian Republic.

6. Socio-Economic Program of People's Front

The People's Front plans to conduct radical economic reform within the IME framework, providing for intensive development of the national economy, growth in the standard of living, and increased free time. Its aim is plurality and equality before the law of forms of ownership; a unified, regulated economy and market economics monitored by the state. Our economic program must free Estonia from its one-sided orientation on the USSR internal market and achieve an integration with countries of the West and North that is suitable to Estonia's geographic position and prerequisites for economic development. The economic policies of the People's Front must free the national economy of Estonia from unilateral dependence on raw material sources.

Realization of these principles requires first of all:

—that the integrity of Estonia's economy be restored; all state enterprises must be subordinated to the republic;

—that a portion of state enterprises be reorganized into people's enterprises, leased enterprises, and joint-stock companies; cooperatives, partnerships, and private enterprises are on an equal footing with these;

—that the structure of the national economy be modernized, giving preference to research-intensive, ecologically safe, highly mechanized, and automated production with low material intensiveness. Some enterprises will inevitably be faced with the task of changing production lines, shifting to the output of different, more contemporary production;

—that efforts be taken to achieve the optimal structure linking large-, medium-, and small-scale production, and to extend independent operation to production branches and divisions far removed from parent enterprises in small and medium-sized cities, settlements, and villages;

—that immediate reform be conducted with respect to wages in education, culture, health care, and social security, raising average earnings at least to the level of the average earnings of a skilled worker. The policy of the People's Front in matters of wages proceeds generally from the principle that earnings should depend on the individual contribution and financial success of an enterprise;

—that housing policy should be changed, equalizing to a significant degree the payments made by tenants for use of living space, regardless of the form of ownership (state, municipal, cooperative, or private); advantages would be retained only by large families and retired people;
—that protection be provided the domestic consumer goods market.

People's Front policy regarding tax and finance:
—that every encouragement be given to investments directed towards modernization of the economy, to cooperation with foreign capital;
—that unified norms be established for taxing enterprises;
—that income tax for citizens be based on a progressive scale;
—that enterprise profit exported to the Soviet Union be taxed;
—that Estonian national currency be introduced;
—that the pay scales of workers at state-funded enterprises, organizations, and institutions, as well as their pensions and allowances, be established depending on rates of inflation.

Agrarian policy envisages:

—the establishment of fair purchase prices for agricultural products;
—restoration of a farmstead-type economy, implementation of a state assistance program providing for equality of all forms of production.

The regional policy of the People's Front strives:

—to support development of rural regions, implement a program to develop outlying districts;
—to narrow the gulf in development between the north and south of Estonia, provide state support to the socio-economic development of southern Estonia;
—to chart a program for bringing the ecological situation in northeast Estonia back to health;
—to suspend the growth of Tallinn due to migration;
—to concentrate city resources primarily on providing qualitative development;
—to encompass the entire republic with an integral system of regional politics where specific types of territories are identified, beginning with nature parks (biosphere preserves) and including special economic zones and technological villages. Effective regional policies must combine the necessity of modernizing the national economy with requirements for improving the state of the ecology, maintaining traditional life style and ethnic values. At the same time, regional policies must preclude squandering our national resources and prevent them from falling under foreign power.

The program of economic regulation proceeds from the principle of transition—from a command economy to a profit economy.

For the majority of Estonian residents, such policy is not an end in itself but rather a means of achieving other—individual or community—ends. The People's Front believes it is a most important task of the near future to put IME economic principles into effect, on the one hand, and on the other—to create a feeling of social protection for all people permanently residing in Estonia, regardless of their nationality. It is within the competence of the local organs of authority that such matters are dealt with as man's social well-being, quality of life, a suitable living environment for the individual, and the easing of difficult conditions for retired persons, invalids, young and large families. The economic and social portion of the election platform presents the vision of the People's Front with respect to extricating ourselves from financial difficulties and the crisis situation, a vision upon which to build a sense of confidence in tomorrow for all social groups, confidence in the fact that a sovereign Estonia will provide for them.

People's Front deputies must insist that local organs of authority first:

1) create the necessary financial base for their budget (municipal ownership, local taxation);

2) set up a program of social and cultural development for their region, determine those problems whose resolution requires, in addition to local budget allocations, the use of special-purpose programs and funds;

3) help develop the structure of local institutions (organs, organizations) which will meet the social development demands of a given region (including center of development, social aid system, law enforcement system, etc.);

4) take responsibility for identifying and registering social groups of the local population which are subject to

risk and establishing supplementary measures for them (financial assistance, child care, care of women and the elderly, benefits to young families, special services, etc.), introduce local taxes and funds for these purposes;

5) help set up operation of immigration services at the local level, provide for supervision of observance of the law on migration;

6) help develop and implement the local ecological program;

7) attain complete use of and increase the cultural potential of the region, beginning with the development of children's creative activity and preservation of local cultural roots (legend, tradition, remembrance), and including opportunities for getting involved in the achievements of Estonian world culture;

8) establish effective supervision on the part of the organs of authority of the operation of the local military registration and enlistment office and military units, proceeding from the program provisions of the People's Front and the Estonian Constitution;

9) rebuild into an integral whole the social security and health care system of their region according to principles of health protection in the IME concept: a healthy environment, healthy working conditions and life style, sound nourishment, a proper social and psychological climate for those who are healthy; treatment for those who are ill; rehabilitation and care for those in poor health;

10) create a favorable living environment in their region for children and young people, providing the opportunity for free interaction, intellectual and physical development, and participation in resolving local problems. Not a single sprout of talent in their native kray must go unnoticed and undeveloped, not a single child must miss the opportunity for self-actualization;

11) ensure that all community benefits in their region are distributed on a socially just basis;

12) ensure public supervision of budget execution, itemized by income and outlays.

In sum, the social and economic aims of the activity of People's Front deputies can be expressed as the following principle:

—Let every Estonian village and every city become a fine, warm, safe home for its inhabitants!

The times are passing when we were all beggars at the mercy of a great power. IME is placing rights and money into the hands of local organs of authority in order to overcome ruin and collapse in our native land. Each member of a local soviet, each deputy must use the potential of the local treasury like a true head of household who sees not only the misfortunes of today but the demands of tomorrow, who is able to show concern for the weak in his family, and create the necessary conditions for those willing and able to accomplish something useful.

With the publication of this platform, a new policy stage begins for the Estonian People's Front, which will more precisely determine the framework of its social-democratic ideology, while leaving room within the People's Front for Eurocommunist, liberal, and centrist views.

Everything which we are now outlining, deciding, and doing proceeds from a sense of historic responsibility and the firm knowledge that it is the obligation of present generations to again lay a foundation of society, a society in which our descendants can live in security and happiness. In preparing for freedom we are preparing freedom itself.

Estonia, you stand on the threshold of a future which holds great hope!

Estonian Green Party Profiled

90UN0300A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 25 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with Mario Kivistik (M.K.) and Ayn Payumyae (A.P.), founding members of the Estonian Green Party, conducted by V. Akimov: "'People Are Not Tired of Politics, They Are Tired of Waiting for Results'"]

[Text] SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA continues the publication of a series of articles revealing the spectrum of political forces which are operating currently in the republic and participating in the election campaign. In offering to readers' attention the latest interview we give the reminder that the editorial office reserves the right not to share the viewpoints of the interviewees.

M.K.: Let us recall how the Estonian green movement began. We were staging at that time big political actions, the main one being the "phosphorite war". Zone time was introduced largely thanks to the efforts of the Estonian green movement. And how much noise was created by the well-known Resolution 1, in which the greens expressed no confidence in the then prime minister. One way or another, the Estonian Council of Ministers is headed by another person today. People gravitated toward us and supported the movement. And the more momentum we gained, the more powerfully we were called to order and the more strongly we were rebuked for undue politicization. Unnecessary caution appeared in our actions, and we began to yield our positions. This year the new leadership of the green movement said openly and clearly: the main thing in the Estonian green movement's activity must be the ecological direction. And a perfectly definite public reaction followed: the results of a recent poll published in NOORTE HAAL show how the number of people supporting us in the republic has declined.

When we began to analyze the reasons for the passiveness which had emerged, we concluded that this was a natural result. The fulfillment of specific ecological

demands is possible only if changes in other spheres of public life ensue also. And for this it is necessary to be on a par with the political forces which are already operating and participate in the work of the local self-administering bodies and the Supreme Soviet. We thus arrived at the idea of the formation of the Estonian Green Party. And it was created on 10 August 1989.

A.P.: This fact does not mean, however, that there was a split in the green movement or that the Green Party is now opposed to the movement. No. On the contrary, the green movement will also now acquire new impetus to development, it seems to us. It may unite entirely different forces which set as their task the creation of an environment acceptable to man.

Akimov: To judge by its program, the Green Party intends seeking the restoration of Estonia's independence. In what way, then, are your aims different to those of other parties and movements?

M.K.: Our program contains a justification of the factors compelling us to address the idea of Estonia's independence, proceeding precisely from green ideology, at the center of which is man, the individual. Defense of his rights as an individual. Let us think a little. We do not as yet know how the debate in the USSR Supreme Soviet on the Property Act will end. Let us assume that, despite all counteraction, commonsense wins and the republic acquires the right to dispose of its natural resources and its interior itself. Implementation of the IME [Self-Managing Estonia] progam begins, the living standard, as envisaged, begins to rise. Things will then begin to happen which we simply do not have the right to allow. Criminal elements from less well-off regions of the country will stream rapidly into Estonia. This wave is engulfing us even now. According to figures published recently, the crime level in our republic is comparable with analogous indicators only in Nagornyy Karabakh. And no money of our own, no certificates will help bring order to bear if we lack our own migration office and our own border and customs control. The legal protection of the Estonian population—I speak of the inhabitants of the republic, regardless of national affiliation—will not be secured otherwise.

A.P.: I shall continue what is being said. The IME program as a whole would seem far less efficient than the path toward independence. Realization of IME will push us into long and arduous struggle with hundreds of union ministries and departments. And the government lacks the forces for this even now. We have many times heard the following kind of arguments: if you become independent, you will have nothing, we will not provide you with money and resources. But I wish to put the question differently: why should trade cease, why should there be a diminution in commodity turnover between Estonia and other republics of the Union, why should we cease to manufacture goods which Kazakhstan, say, or the Ukraine needs, why should they cease to manufacture the products which we need? Commodity turnover between Estonia and the Soviet Union was very substantial from 1920 through 1940. And if now these ties are severed, this could occur only for subjective, and not objective, reasons. As far as our viewpoint on Estonia's future concurring with the opinions of a number of other parties and movements is concerned, this is a normal phenomenon. The experience of all other democratic states shows that there are no appreciable disagreements, particularly on questions of statehood, among the majority of political forces on the basic, fundamental problems. But I have to say plainly that when other parties put forward their economic programs and it is a question of the solution of ecological problems, we will certainly be in opposition in relation to them. Even such a seemingly noble aim as the achievement of the level of the developed European countries cannot be accomplished at the expense of people's health and a deterioration in their environment.

Akimov. Thus, if I understand you correctly, the Estonian Green Party still sees the future of the republic outside of the framework of the USSR?

A.P.: Yes. And problems connected with Estonia's independence need to be solved as quickly as possible. After all, it is in an independent state that it is possible to tackle most efficiently tasks of the development of the economy and man's legal protection. It is then that it will be possible to really resolve the nationality issue. But it should be emphasized that there can only be one path—parliamentary. We are opposed to any violence—and this is a basic principle of the Green Party's activity. I am convinced that the tension which currently exists in Estonia and in all the Baltic republics is connected not so much with some particular contradictions between the nations. The friction between the two communities has most likely been caused by the different level of knowledgeability concerning the course of historical events and their different interpretation. And, of course, this friction has frequently been inspired and fanned from outside. Those who are playing with this fire will sooner or later get burned. The world has experience of this. But to return to our concerns. It may be said briefly that currently our parliament is doing everything the wrong way round, formulating and enacting laws which create the illusion that we have already embarked on the path of independence. It needs to be stated plainly and candidly that the ultimate goal is the creation of an independent Estonian state. I believe that the Soviet Union, which consistently supports the aspiration of other peoples of the world to genuine sovereignty, will not object. And all the contradictions which might arise in this event will be resolved by negotiations.

M.K.: We make no secret of the fact that the aims and principles which are contained in the Estonian Green Party program create the basis for our actions in an independent state. But at the same time we believe that they may to a considerable extent be implemented even prior to the restoration of independence. We are not utopians. We evaluate the political situation realistically

and are joining in the work today even, not waiting for more propitious conditions.

Akimov: Let us talk about the economic part of your program. What do you think about the prospects of the development of Estonia's economy?

A.P.: Attention should be paid first of all to the development of agriculture. But not in such a form as now. We do not believe that the volume of agricultural production should be increased. We need to create a new sector: production of food without chemicals. This would not only contribute to the preservation and improvement of people's health but would also increase rural workers' income. Pure products cost considerably more than conventional products on the world market. A vast network of stores selling pure food products has spread in many countries. There is one in Tallinn also, but just one, unfortunately.

The high level of radioactivity produced by shale-fired power stations is now a serious threat to the life of the population of the republic. And the most frightening thing is that the consequences of the impact of chemicals and radioactive radiation on the human organism are not manifested immediately. Chernobyl is the best example of this. Those who sent people there were counting on the consequences from working in the contaminated area emerging about 15 years later, that is, when the people would have forgotten about that tragedy and would be unable to connect with it the illnesses which had emerged. They were mistaken. The people's genetic code is today so distorted that we are harvesting the bitter fruit even today. Of those who participated in eliminating the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station in the republic, five men in their prime—30-40-year olds—have died. And how many more of them will there be? This is why we are for the development in Estonia of enterprises and industries and technology which are capable of ensuring the preservation of life.

Akimov: And the final question. Concerning participation in the present election campaign. Whom have you chosen as your allies at the forthcoming elections to the local organs of power?

A.P.: The elections to the organs of local self-administration are very important for us because this is a real opportunity for participating in the solution of specific questions of administration of the republic. The Estonian Green Party in Tallinn, for example, is a part of an election coalition which has been organized by the People's Front, the Christian Democratic Union, the Women's Union and the Social Democratic and other parties. The Communist Party is not a part of this alliance. There are several reasons for this. One of the main ones is that the continuing assertion concerning "the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party" is today a nonsense of political life. We are prepared to cooperate with the Estonian Communist Party when it becomes a political force which, like all the others, renounces a monopoly on power. We have positions on which our viewpoints are close or coincide. But the question of cooperation is still a matter for the future.

Ukrainian KGB Official Interviewed

LD2011162189 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1945 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Several hours ago a press conference was held at the Ukrainian KGB building for the republic's mass information media, scientific establishments, and informal organizations. Its theme was the rehabilitation of the victims of unlawful repressions in the 1930's and 1940'.

Our correspondent Vitaliy Naumenko afterward recorded an interview with Aleskandr Pshennikov, a KGB official. [Begin recording] [passage omitted]

[Naumenko] Aleskandr Mikhaylovich, our people today have a distorted notion about the archives of the NKVD-MGB-KGB. They think that you deliberately conceal information, that you are hiding something. They think that you only release information which (?does not harm the organs).

[Pshennikov] [Passage indistinct] we maintain close contacts with academic institutes and creative organizations, which are interested in obtaining all sorts of information from us.

[Naumenko] It was stated at the press conference that not all cases have a happy ending, that a number of victims—the figure of 3,500 was given—have not been rehabilitated. Why not?

[Pshennikov] We act in accordance with the decree of the Supreme Soviet which clearly defines the range of persons who do not fall under the rehabilitation process. [passage omitted] These are the executioners, their accomplices and [word indistinct]. Also persons that committed criminal acts. There were some who found themselves in prisons for criminal offenses, but later were executed on the decisions of three-man committees. Rehabilitation is refused to persons involved in the falsification of cases, mostly workers of law-enforcement organs. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Ukrainian First Secretary Meets With Media

90UN0290 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 7 Oct 89 pp 1, 3

[RAUTAU report: "Perestroyka and Journalist's Position: Meeting of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee"]

[Text] At the current breakthrough stage of perestroyka, what problems of sociopolitical, economic, and spiritual life most worry the republic's Central Committee and party committee? How can journalists help in their early resolution? These and other questions determined the content of the discussion during a 5 October 1989

meeting of V.A. Ivashko, first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine [CPU] Central Committee, with the leaders of republic and oblast journalistic organizations and correspondents of the central publications.

At the beginning of the meeting, he emphasized that he would first of all like to impell the participants to reflection, to approaches based upon the realities of the concrete situation, which is changing extraordinarily rapidly, almost on a daily basis. For a journalist, the most important thing now is to discard stereotypes, whatever they are, however old or new they are. Life's phenomena must be perceived in all their complexity, while attempting to penetrate the profound essence. Standardization of thinking hardly corresponds to the creative nature of perestroyka.

The first secretary of the CPU Central Committee further paused on a number of issues concerning perestroyka and renewal of the party itself.

Today, as we know, the party cadres, and the party itself are being subjected to criticism, and sometimes to pointed attacks. But the reality is that in our society now, only the CPSU represents the real political force capable of rallying the workers in the ideas of revolutionary renewal, and of organizing them for the execution of qualitatively new tasks. Yet it is also indisputable that the party, like all society, is in need of renewal.

At the September plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, a resolution was adopted on the convocation of the 28th CPSU Congress. The dates for conducting the 28th CPU Congress will also soon be determined. In essence, we have entered into the pre-congress period. And during the course of the preparations, we must take the path of recovery and renewal of the party organizations and all party work. What does the renewal of the party consist of? First and foremost, the further democratization of intraparty life. In the renewed party, places must not be set aside for the usual hierarchy or rank-fixation. Informal leadership must be confirmed. I feel that it is not only normal, but necessary that several candidacies be proposed for posts such as party group organizer or Central Committee secretary, people with professional and life experience, knowledge, and a clear position.

At the same time, the attempts to decide the fate of this or that party or soviet leader on the basis of "judgement in the church square" as they say, cannot be justified. Some say that it is the voice of the people. It is actually the voice of those who are shouting, and what is behind that shout must still be looked at carefully. Incidentally, we cannot but direct attention to the fact that pretenders to certain posts are themselves oriented by the mood of the crowd when they draw mirages, promising that which cannot be done. In other words, they pretend that they are ardent fighters for the interests of the people. And they are not worried about how to satisfy these interests. Let someone else do that. Incidentally, in numerous letters to the Central Committee, and in conversation, people are more and more frequently declaring their skepticism of those who at one time promised them all sorts of "rose gardens."

Acting with the framework of democratic centralism, we should consistently conduct a course toward increasing the independence of the primary party organizations where reports and elections are now conducted. It must be clearly understood that the party organizations has genuine authority only when it has formed a definite idea, promoted a concrete goal, and organized people for achieving it. Consequently, the "Concrete cause from each primary" movement should be actively disseminated in the future.

V.A. Ivashko continued that soon the party organizations will face new tests. At issue here are the elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies and local soviet deputies. As we know, the drafts of the corresponding laws have been published. Now their broad and democratic discussion is continuing. I am certain that the proposals and opinions promoted must be taken into consideration by the republic's Supreme Soviet. Yet the comments of our press on several proposals, which do not have any political or legal basis, are extremely timid. And the main thing here, in the final analysis, is who is going to be elected deputy. I think that our press must concentrate its attention on precisely this. There should come to the soviets—from the village soviets on up to the Supreme Soviet—not people who promote primarily their personal ambitions, but those who feel for the people with their soul, who feel for how we are to build the future of the Ukraine within the framework of the Soviet federation, to ensure economic independence, economic accountability, and the confirmation of a law-governed state.

We are of the view that alternative elections must have one principal feature: If some group of people fights for a deputy seat—or two, or three, or four, we must be certain that each of them is capable of conducting perestroyka in the manner required by life itself. And it is incumbent upon the party organizations to do a great deal for this. And any sort of frontal attack approach or one-sidedness is impermissible here—we are for this candidate and categorically against that one. People want to understand why you are "for" and why you are "against."

Finally, we should be prepared for real political struggle, even though there is a deficiency of such experience both in the party organizations and the press organs. It must be acquired.

In speaking of the tendencies of socioeconomic problems in the pages of the press, V.A. Ivashko particularly noted that a certain progress is being perceived by the public consciousness—and this absolutely must be taken into consideration by journalistic collective. People are more frequently coming to the realization that success in perestroyka will not be achieved without persistent

workday labor. Therefore, the theme of conscientious, creative labor must take a prominent position in mass information media.

Economic knowledge must be brought to the masses. There is much noise now: Let's try economic accountability, let's try something new, we're lagging with leasing in comparison to someone else. But what is necessary to really begin new economic relations? After all, conditions are being created today for normal fruitful work. Incidentally, in the republic there already are, as they say, the seeds of new-style working, which must be inculcated everywhere. And anyone who wants to is working effectively, capably, such as, for example, A.I. Chabanov, the general director of the Cherkasskiy "Rotor" Scientific Production Association, and V.A. Plyutinskiy, chairman of the Rovenskiy Oblast "Zarya" agrofirm. There are more than a few such examples, but unfortunately, there are far more examples of a different sort.

The attention of those attending was directed toward the issue of the sharp increase of the cadres' responsibility for the cause entrusted to them. V.A. Ivashko said that in the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat, we have exchanged opinions on this issue and have agreed that we will hold firm to such a course. If, for example, a train car full of laundry detergent, of which there is none in the stores, stands for a week without being unloaded, a concrete person must bear responsibility for that, even up to removing him from his position. The cause and the people demand this.

At the meeting, certain negative processes taking place in the spiritual area were discussed. It was underscored that only a spiritually rich person is up to implementing the humane goals of perestroyka.

In his speech, V.A. Ivashko turned attention to the need to change the style of interrelations between the party committees and the mass information media. After all, it has almost become a fashion among party workers, and not only among party workers, to accuse the mass information media of seemingly not writing the right thing or not writing the right way. On the other hand, the leaders of newspapers, magazines, television, and radio frequently complain of the incompetence of the party leadership. And all of this is understandable. However, there is no getting around the distortions of both the one side and the other. We cannot but be disturbed by the fact that some people have an extremely one-sided understanding of glasnost; prejudice in evaluations rises is gaining the upper hand in certain editorial collectives, and this, in the final analysis, leads to the perversion of the true state of affairs.

Then there occurred an exchange of opinions on issues of the practical activity of the mass information media. The meeting's participants spoke of the increased efficacy of the printed word, television and radio broadcasts, and of the existing problems and difficulties in the work of creative collectives.

P.B. Novikov, editor of the newspaper RADYANSKA DONECHCHINA noted that oblast newspapers are overloaded with official materials, and there is little space left in them to devote to local life. They are losing subscribers and readers because of this.

P.G. Shafeta, editor of the oblast newspaper RADYANSKA VOLIN spoke of the need to change the methods of party work, taking the demands of the time into consideration, being more concerned with the cadres of journalists. Certain publications handle matters of the workers' political indoctrination and political propaganda unskillfully. The editorial boards of several local papers are experiencing serious difficulties in their material-technological provisions; the "residual principal" remains in effect here.

V.V. Pokhvalskiy, editor of the oblast paper ZAPORIZKA PRAVDA, said that readers have already had more than their fill of sensationalism and fault-finding. He directed attention to the fact that one of the main reasons for the many shortcomings in the work of the editorial boards is the insufficient competence of the journalists. It is impossible to follow the complex processes taking place in our life today without deep background knowledge. Consultations with and advice of experienced political scientists and sociologists are now quite necessary in broadcast and print propaganda.

N.A. Shibik, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Journalists' Union and editor of RABOCHAYA GAZETA, expressed a desire that such meetings of the CPU Central Committee and the leaders of the mass information media be held on a regular basis. In his opinion, the Central Committee should give the issue of the state of Ukrainian journalism a broad examination from the point of view of the problems, the cadres, the material base of the periodical publications, and the living and working conditions of their collectives.

In his speech, N.F. Okhmakevich, chairman of Ukrainian SSR Gostelradio [State Committee for Television and Radio] spoke of the urgent problems in the development of television in the republic. He cited facts which bear witness to the poor equipment outfitting of republic television, and shared his opinion on certain trends in restructuring its work.

In summing up the meeting, V.A. Ivashko emphasized:

"It is desirable that in your actions and publications you adhere to the well-known professional principal: Why am I publishing this, what am I publishing, and how will it resonate in people's consciousness and actions. People now value those who have their own positions. This does not signify any sort of reorientation in the critical comprehension of life, or the course of perestroyka. To a very great degree, we are all responsible for the fate of our people. I am certain that the renewal of our life will gather strength. I would like to request of each of you that you apply effort so that this process move as quickly as possible."

The first secretary of the CPU Central Committee responded to questions from the journalists.

Moldavian Supreme Soviet Opens Session

LD2111191289 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Kishinev November 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Chubashenko:

The Moldavian Supreme Soviet went into session here today to discuss a package of documents that are of major importance to Soviet Moldavia.

Up for discussion are bills on changes and addenda to the Moldavian Constitution, the election of people's deputies of the republic, and deputies of local governing councils, a plan and budget of the republic for 1990.

The session is also expected to form a central commission for the election of people's deputies and set up a Supreme Soviet commission to study the notorious events that took place in Kishinev on November 7 and 10.

"This session cannot be regarded as routine," Mircha Snegur, president of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, emphasised in his report on electoral bills.

"We are laying down principles on the basis of which a mechanism for a government by the people will be formed and operate in Moldavia."

The bills that will underlie the new electoral system in Moldavia had been tentatively put forth for nationwide discussion . More than 855,000 people discussed them at 10,000 meetings.

The deputies will also consider a document which entrusts the entire state power in the republic to a permanently functioning unicameral Supreme Soviet that will consist of 380 deputies. No provision is made for a congress of people's deputies in Moldavia.

Taking into account the multi-ethnic nature of the republic's population, the formation of a parliamentary committee for the affairs of nationalities that live in Moldavia has been suggested. A council of reprsentatives from ethnic groups is to be set up at the committee.

A lively discussion at the session was aroused by questions concerning the powers of a new republican official—a president of Moldavia's Supreme Soviet—who will be elected for a term of five years and for not more than two terms in succession—and by questions concerning the functioning mechanism of the republic's future parlaiment.

New Moldavian Party Chief Interviewed

PM2111163589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with P.K. Luchinskiy, new first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, by own correspondent E. Kondratov under ubric: "Names and Events": "We Have To Continue Living Together"—date of interview not given, first four paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] As reported earlier, the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum has elected P.K. Luchinskiy as first secretary of the republic party organization.

Petr Kirillovich Luchinskiy was born 1940 in Moldavia, in Staryye Radulyany village, Floreshtskiy Rayon. He is a Moldavian, a candidate of philosophical sciences, and a party member since 1964.

He graduated from the Kishinev University history faculty and the CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School. He worked in the Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] as instructor of the Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee, first secretary of the Beltsy city committee, and second and subsequently first secretary of the Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee.

From 1971 onward he worked in the party as secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, first secretary of the Kishinev city party committee [gorkom], and deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department. Since 1986 he has worked as second secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee.

[Kondratov] Petr Kirillovich, you have returned home to a complex atmosphere. What do you see as the causes of the exacerbation of the sociopolitical atmosphere in Moldavia?

[Luchinskiy] Our inability to anticipate situations and adopt decisions promptly and boldly. We act only when conflicts reach a critical point, and that applies to cadre decisions too. We have to remind ourselves again and again: The meaning of perestroyka lies in approaching all the phenomena of life exclusively from common sense positions.

[Kondratov] Who do you mean by "we"?

[Luchinskiy] Everyone, but above all party and soviet officials for whom new thinking is a vital necessity. We are for ever wearing blinders, we work glancing over our shoulder at the bosses, we are afraid to exceed the usual framework, we wait for instructions and orders. Moreover, we surround ourselves with an air of secrecy and keep aloof from the people. I have just learned, for instance, that three outline plans for republic economic accountability have already been drawn up in Moldavia. Yet the population knows nothing about it.

[Kondratov] People are disillusioned because they cannot see any tangible changes in the economy.

[Luchinskiy] This is because we have all got terribly carried away with discussing topical problems and we are doing very little to resolve them in practice. Even when we meet we discuss all kind of events instead of practical work. What we need are concrete, constructive programs to inspire people who are thirsting for work.

[Kondratov] In my opinion, what is getting in the way are the endless investigations into interethnic relations. What do you think?

[Luchinskiy] It is necessary to be more perspicacious, to be able to identify at the very beginning the extremes in the people's movement toward national rebirth which prevent people from living in harmony. Healthy popular initiative itself must rebut those who exploit national sentiments, and we must open people's eyes so that they can see them. Ruining relations between people is easy, but redressing them... We should remember the main thing: We have to carry on living side by side, together, so there is no alternative to friendship.

[Kondratov] Do you not think that the tumultuous activities of the informal movements are a serious impediment to the normal life of the population?

[Luchinskiy] I am convinced that the spontaneous social formations are necessary, however the only way to judge them is according to how beneficial and useful for society their objectives are and to what extent their words and actions coincide. If the informals are actually participating in perestroyka and work toward the solution of part of the problems which beset society, then I am wholeheartely "in favor." The fact that very often they lay claim to an exclusive role, insisting that the problems which they are raising are the only thing which society in conditions of perestroyka should attend to, is another matter. And they are prepared to go as far as violating our laws.

[Kondratov] This is causing alarm among people.

[Luchinskiy] Yes, but it would be very wrong to put one's trust into some kind of "iron hand" which would call everyone to order. If we want to be a truly civilized society, our main weapon must not be violence, which is fraught with endless conflicts, but the ability to find compromise solutions, to achieve a consensus, to display benevolence and the readiness to get to the bottom of things and understand. And at the same time we must exact strict observance of laws. No indulgence must be shown to persistent violators of law and order. The law must function; it serves to protect people.

[Kondratov] Do you see a guarantee of the stabilization of the situation in the republic in this?

[Luchinskiy] Stabilization is not an abstract concept, it can only be achieved through involving people in concrete activities which give them moral and material satisfaction. Meanwhile everyone here is irritated—there are no goods and no food, the shelves are empty, and instead of working harder, we continue to curse each other, looking for a "scapegoat." I am confident that even in Moldavia the situation will change when we all get down to implementing the ideas of the republic's economic independence.

[Kondratov] Quite so, but some conflicts will remain for instance around the Law on the Functioning of Languages.

[Luchinskiy] I believe that even here there is no need to be jumpy, and violence of any kind is harmful. Moldavians have at long last gained the opportunity to raise their language to a worthy level. It is necessary to create a favorable atmosphere for people of other nationalities to be attracted to it, to grasp that it is both necessary and possible to learn it. Language is an expression of spiritual culture, it cannot be imposed by force. And especially not in a democratic society. "Graba strike tryaba"—more haste, less speed—as the Moldavians say.

[Kondratov] Petr Kirillovich, does it not embarrass you that people will be able to say with some justification that a man has now returned to Moldavia who grew up during the times of stagnation, back under I. Bodyul?

[Luchinskiy] No, I have no reason not to look my compatriots squarely in the face. It is not important during what times you have lived, but by what principles you were guided and what position you occupied. There are no other kind of people, who grew up in different conditions, here. The fundamental difference between people is determined precisely by what place perestroyka occupies in our lives.

[Kondratov] People have already seen you in stores, in the market, talking to people in the streets. They are surprised, they joke about it.

[Luchinskiy] What really is surprising is that we are still surprised at what is natural. My old friends whom I have met again are not surprised in the least. They remeber this habit of mine which I acquired back when I worked as a gorkom secretary. No, this is not a pose, it is one of the sources of truthful information about life, no more and no less.

[Kondratov] Well, Petr Kirillovich, IZVESTIYA wish you "norok!"—success!..

Kishinev 10 Nov Disturbances Detailed

LD2211001289 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 12 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] Around 200-300 extremists gathered at the monument to Stefan the Great in the center of Kishinev on 10 Nov at 1500 hours. There were calls for the republican Internal Affairs Ministry building to be picketed as a protest of the detention of several people who violated public order during the festive demonstration on 7 Nov.

At 1800 hours this group moved toward the Internal Affairs Ministry. As it went on its way it was joined by up to 1,500 citizens who massed in front of the ministry building. They stopped traffic on Lenin Avenue and set up barricades on the streets adjacent to it. Senior militia officials who went to speak to those blockading the ministry tried to establish contact with them, sought to persuade them to stop their illegal actions, and called for good sense to be shown. However, in response there were threats and insults hurled at the law and order officials and they were called a "junta" and "fascists." Then, stones, sticks, and empty bottles were thrown at militia officers who were trying to stop the crowd at the doors.

Militia reinforcements were needed. Rubber batons and water cannon were used against the frenzied hooligans and they were repeatedly driven back and dispersed a few blocks away from the ministry.

However, an angry crowd of hooligans, among whom there were drunks, repeatedly returned to the ministry building, throwing paving stones and sticks at militia barriers and vehicles, and hurling crude abuse and threats at the militia in an attempt to provoke a reaction. Maintaining admirable restraint and self-control the militia officers continued to call on those who had gathered to respect the law, observe order, and disperse, but this had no effect. The extremists flew into a rage and went on the rampage, tipping over bins, advertising signs, and street stalls. They took builders' timber from the M. Eminescu Theater, which is undergoing capital repairs, and put up barricades on the avenue.

The conflict grew worse and began to turn into a riot. The angry crowd tried again and again to crush the crash barriers. Wishing to defuse the situation, the militia went again to the ministry entrance. But, this also failed to cool the hooligans down. In front of the ministry they overturned and set fire to militia vehicles, broke nearly all the windows in the building, and several shop windows nearby as well. The frenzied crowd of nearly 10,000 people tried repeatedly to enter the Internal Affairs Ministry and continued to throw stones and gasoline bombs as well as firebrands. The building caught fire on two sides. The enraged thugs seized protective shields and rubber batons from the militia. Internal Affairs Ministry workers fired warning shots into the air and used Cheremukha gas.

There were casualties during the clashes. Rumors of fatalities alleged to have occurred during the riots are false and do not present a true picture of what happened.

USSR people's deputies and prestigious representatives of the creative intelligentsia, as well as leaders of the Moldavian Popular Front [MPF], addressed the crowd in order to localize the situation. As a result, it was occasionally possible to move part of the crowd away to Victory Square. However, it returned to the ministry building again. Over 30 people were arrested, but they were released as the extremists demanded. This defused the situation and at around 2300 the crowd was persuaded to go to Victory Square where the issue of the resignation of the government and the Politburo of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee continued to be hotly debated. Several USSR people's deputies and representatives of the Writers' Union were involved in this.

People's Deputies N. Dabizha, G. Viyeru, and A. Grezhdiyeru appealed for calm and reason in this complex situation. But, at the same time their addresses contained elements which did not promote stabilization of the situation.

Analysis of the behavior of those who took part in the riots leads to the conclusion that the events at the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic Internal Affairs Ministry were instigated to provoke a reaction to demands for the leadership of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee leadership and the republic's government to be removed. These demands have been repeatedly aired at meetings and gatherings and in the press, on radio, and on television by MPF activists and certain creative figures, as well as by certain USSR people's deputies. There is reason to think that the article "Resignation," which was published the day before in the paper "LITERATURA SI ARTA" was an active inflammatory factor.

Late that night a meeting of the Central Committee Politburo of the Moldavian Communist Party examined the situation.

Criminal proceedings have been started as a result of the Kishinev riots.

Kishinev Paper's Report of 10 Nov Events Rebutted

PM2111105389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondent Captain 3d Rank A. Orlov report: "On Events in Kishinev"]

[Text] On 16 November the newspaper LITERATURA SHI ARTA of the Moldavian Writers Union and the republic Ministry of Culture published a report on the events of 10 November under the rubric "From Informal Sources."

"Everything really was planned in advance," the newspaper concludes, "but... by certain circles in power in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic or even higher up." With reference to a poll among eyewitnesses and casualties, the following chronicle of events was drawn up: Half an hour before the picket turned up outside the Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] building, the building itself was filled with soldiers and militiamen in helmets, with nightsticks and shields. The pickets were bundled into the MVD building, with weapons being used. A spontaneous protest by passersby ensued, and militiamen retaliated with a brutal attack. A spontaneous protest by a crowd of "up to 1,000 people." A second, large-scale

attack from the MVD. Mass beatings, particular cruelty... Gases were used. A barricade was erected outside the drama theater building. The soldiers and militia withdrew at the suggestion of deputies who had come to the ministry. And, at the same time, an attack by 30-40 soldiers on the departing column of people. A new clash. A vehicle overturned. Gases. A second attempt by deputies to lead people away from the MVD building. According to the newspaper story, there was also, it turns out, a second "provocation" by internal troop soldiers and the militia, and a third...

"As regards the actions of the republic MVD," Militia Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Makarov, USSR MVD Press Center inspector for special assignments, declared, "it is possible to say with regard to the LITERATURA SHI ARTA report that the tendentious selection of facts is amazing. Only civilians who suffered in the clashes were polled. The MVD has at its disposal facts which refute the authenticity of the newspaper's interpretation. The 10 November actions of militia workers were characterized by restraint: The militiamen and the internal troop reinforcements deliberately rejected the use of firearms against their attackers, realizing that this could result in great casualties. The militia's actions in detaining the picket cannot be described in the way they have been. The invitation to members of the picket to enter the MVD building, without the use of force, had the purpose of ascertaining the essence of their demands. The only people stationed in the MVD building were the subunits which are on 24-hour duty there."

For the sake of objectivity it has to be said that the leaders of the Moldavian People's Front [MPF] who arrived at the MVD building from a session of the republic Council of Ministers made attempts to calm the frenzied mob during the attack. But those attempts proved unsuccessful.

A news conference organized by the MPF was held 16 November. One of its participants compared the 10 November events with...the burning of the Reichstag in 1933. The people chairing the news conference did not make an assessment of that statement. Incidentally, in the course of a speech by USSR People's Deputy I. Khadyrke he rebuked KRASNAYA ZVEZDA for a "fabrication" concerning the participation of MPF leaders in the so-called civilian committee. But MPF documents were disseminated right there, at the news conference, which noted: "It was with great difficulty that observers (?) managed to persuade...those involved in the clash to withdraw to the square and there elect a citizens' committee to negotiate with the authorities and to formulate demands, including the dismissal of S. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee; Second Secretary V. Pshenichnikov; I. Kalin, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and V. Semenov, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee."

The question arises: Who were these observers?

In general, many questions and obscure points still remain. But it is undoubtedly clear that the most reliable information possible and total objectivity are needed to assess what happened in Kishinev.

Moldavian Informal Organizations Registered

PM0711130189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by own correspondent E. Kondratov: "Registering Informal Organizations"]

[Text] Kishinev—The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers has registered the statutes of four informal public movements.

The statutes of the registered movement differ substantially—in terms of the aims formulated in them and in terms of the specific tasks which they set themselves. It is perhaps only the statutes' preambles which are similar, containing assurances of readiness to follow the instructions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th party conference, and the ideas of perestroyka as a whole.

But further on very substantial differences are revealed. The republic's most mass-based movement—the Moldavian People's Front, which units mainly Moldavians—regards itself as a public association independent of any political and state organs. It is true that the Moldavian People's Front does not rule out the fact that the CPSU may influence its activity through party members associated with the People's Front.

The Moldavian People's Front's specific tasks include achieving the republic's sovereignty and political and economic independence within the framework of socialist federalism. The demands of the People's Front include the resolute rejection of the policy of "exporting" and "importing" manpower resources, and the prohibition of any national-territorial autonomous formations on the territory of the Moldavian SSR. The Moldavian People's Front believes that the Moldavian people should have at least proportional representation in all key posts—state, party, and economic—and that ignorance of the Moldavian language is incompatible with the holding of leading posts in the republic. It stands for the expansion of Moldavia's international contacts, for freedom to travel abroad, and for the need to adopt a law on citizenship of the Moldavian SSR.

The "Unitatya-unity" international movement, which unites what it is now customary to call "Russian-speaking" fellow thinkers, considers different tasks to be most important for it. The main task is the defense of citizens' rights and freedoms irrespective of their nationality and other circumstances. The international movement, as enshrined in its charter, "defends by every means the equal rights of citizens of the Moldavian SSR in all spheres of their activity within the procedure laid down by the law" and promotes the normalization of interethnic relations, the rallying of the working people,

and the friendship of the peoples. It acknowledges the principles of party leadership of public life.

The "Gagauz-Khalky" people's movement, almost all of whose members live in the south of the republic, in areas densely populated by the Gagauz people, has set itself an emphatically specific aim. To wit: the formation of a Gagauz autonomous soviet socialist republic within the Moldavian SSR. This, the movement's charter states, will be an instance of "the restoration of historical justice with regard to the Gagauz people."

And finally aims of national-patriotic content including boosting the level of their native language, restoring the people's traditions, customs, and spiritual and cultural values, and creating real conditions for developing their economic and cultural rights are set for itself by the Bulgarian "Resurrection" sociocultural fellowship.

Having registered the four public organizations, the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers has recommended that they make a number of substantial changes and additions to their statutes.

Further Details of Georgian Sovereignty

PM2211095589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 2

[GRUZINFORM-TASS report under rubric "Union Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions": "New Georgian Laws"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 19 November—The decisions adopted by the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session which has just ended were long awaited in the republic. The laws ratified at the session on amendments and additions to the republic's constitution (basic law), on elections of people's deputies, and on elections to the republic's local soviets of people's deputies create real conditions for resolving fundamental national-state questions on a genuinely democratic basis.

The new laws take into account the interests of all strata of society. In particular, the republic's right to determine forms of ownership itself is laid down. Land, its mineral resources, waters, forests, and other natural resources are exclusively the state property of the Georgian SSR within its territory. Fixed production capital in any sector of the national economy is deemed the republic's national property.

The Georgian SSR reserves the right to free secession from the USSR. The republic's Supreme Soviet suspends the operation of USSR laws and ordinances on Georgian SSR territory if it deems them not to accord with the republic's interests. At the same time, it submits to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee and the organ issuing the corresponding laws and ordinances proposals aimed at bringing them into line with the republic's interests. If it proves impossible to reach an agreement, these USSR laws and ordinances do not operate on the territory of the Georgian SSR.

The model for the new organizational structure of supreme power in Georgia does not provide for convening a congress of Georgian people's deputies. It was decided to abandon the holding of okrug pre-election meetings and the election of people's deputies directly from social organizations. The elections themselves will be based only on single-seat electoral okrugs. In addition, the number of candidate deputies will not be limited.

The laws on elections declare that in Georgia every citizen of the republic has the right to vote regardless of origin, social standing and property status, race, nationality, sex, education, native language, attitude to religion, period of residence in the given area, and the type and nature of their work.

The deputies heard information about the work of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Questions of the Political and Legal Assessment of the Violation of the Treaty Between Georgia and Soviet Russia of 7 May 1920. The commission's findings say: From the legal viewpoint, the introduction of troops into Georgia and seizure of the whole territory constituted military interference (intervention) and occupation with the aim of changing the existing political system. This action and the ensuing consequences must be regarded as de facto annexation from the political point of view. The session approved the commission's findings. It was decided to place the question of the political and legal assessment of the violation of the above-mentioned treaty before the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The session heard the findings of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission To Investigate the Circumstances Surrounding the Events of 9 April 1989 in Tbilisi. The deputies approved the findings of the commission, which had previously been published in the republican press. It was noted that the findings have been referred to the appropriate commission of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The participants in the session discussed reports from working groups to formulate proposals on introducing the legal status of Georgian SSR citizenship, on restoring national troop formations and on the performance of military service by the republic's draftees on Georgian territory, on immigration processes in the republic and on ending the shortcomings and mistakes in this sphere, and on implementing real sovereignty of the Georgian SSR. Appropriate resolutions were adopted on each of them.

The session also adopted resolutions on forming the following Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions: on work with young people drafted into the Soviet Army from the republic, on formulating a procedure for referendums in the Georgian SSR, on drawing up a draft Georgian SSR Law on Language, on the study of questions regarding the status of South Osetian Autonomous Oblast, and others.

The deputies examined and ratified the Georgian SSR's state plan for economic and social development and budget for 1990.

The program of activity of the republic's government was presented to the deputies by N.A. Chitanava, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers confirmed at the session.

G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered a speech at the session.

Georgian Supreme Soviet Ends, Amendments Adopted

LD2111113189 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0330 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session has ended. It adopted several additions to the articles of Georgia's Constitution governing elections to republican and local bodies of power and regulating the solution of fundamental national and state issues on a genuinely democratic basis. [passage omitted] The Georgian SSR retains the right of free withdrawal from the USSR. The republic's Supreme Soviet has also terminated the force of USSR laws and by-laws which do not correspond with the interests of the republic. [passage omitted].

The deputies heard a report of the Georgian Supreme Soviet's commission on questions arising from the political and legal evaluation of the violation of the treaty between Georgia and Soviet Russia signed 7 May 1920. The commission states in its conclusions that the bringing of troops into Georgia and the seizure of all the territory was, from the legal point of view, a case of (?foreign) intervention. [passage omitted]

New Georgian President's Background Viewed

LD1711204489 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Tbilisi November 17 TASS—The parliamentary session here today elected Givi Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, as the Republic's new president, or chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Gumbaridze was born into the family of a career military officer in Tbilisi in 1945. He graduated from Tbilisi University. Gumbaridze worked in the Central State Archieves of Georgia, in the office of the Presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet and the office of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

In May 1988, Gumbaridze was elected first secretary of the Tbilisi City Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia. In December of the same year he was appointed chairman of the republican state security committee.

Givi Gumbaridze has headed the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party since April 1989. He was elected people's deputy of the Soviet Union.

Yerevan Notes 'Grave Situation' of Railways

NC1911124489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Yuriy Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, has said in an interview that the grave situation prevailing at Armenian railway stations is the direct result of the blockade organized by the Azerbaijan Popular Front. The republic's government has declared an extraordinary situation on the Armenian railways in order to deal with the loading and unloading of railcars so as to restore Armenian economic life and normalize the situation.

According to 16 November figures, 14,000 railcars carrying freight of various kinds were not unloaded at the Armenian train stations. A further 2,396 railcars are waiting at the northern Caucasus railway stations, while 3,458 railcars are stranded in Azerbaijan railway stations and more than 2,000 railcars at the railway stations [as heard]. Other railcars are also stranded at various locations outside our republic.

Despite the fact that many directors of the republic's enterprises, associations, and construction organizations are aware that the timely reception of their orders depends on the improvement of the serious unloading situation, they are failing to take concrete measures.

Thanks to steps which have been taken, the unloading of railcars at the Armenian stations has to a certain extent improved since 27 October. Yet the situation in the railway stations in the disaster zone—particularly Leninakan, Arevik, and Payantur stations in Leninakan—cannot be considered satisfactory. More than 300 railcars remain unloaded every day at these Leninakan stations. Despite certain improvements in the unloading at junctions, the upgrading of work collectives by the infusion of qualified cadres and the partial clearance of the sidings, and the relative improvement in communications and lighting, at Payantur station in particular, the unloading situation at Leninakan's junctions remains at an unsatisfactory level. [passage omitted]

It has been deemed appropriate to appeal to the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan Council of Ministers, and Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies to take measures to establish the necessary law and order and ensure the complete unloading of the railcars by employing the ministries of the Russian Federation and other construction organizations which are already involved in restoration work in Leninakan.

Khodzhamiryan said that it is necessary for the entire collective of the Yerevan railways branch to upgrade radically its work on the stations. It is necessary to pay particular attention to the organization of daily work. So far, these important questins have not been accorded the attention they deserve, he stated.

According to the figures given by the press center of the Yerevan branch of Transcaucasian Railways, on 17 November only 1,851 railcars were unloaded in the

stations of the republic, compared to the 2,295 planned, and 305 railcars remained unloaded [figures as heard]. Of the 814 railcars that arrived in the disaster zone, only 694 were unloaded. In 1 day, 29 trains arrived in Armenia with 1,249 railcars.

Yerevan Reports on Situation in NKAO

NC1811101089 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has not changed during the past few days. In general, the institutions and organizations are operating. However, the continuing interruption of the distribution of necessary products does not allow the normal rhythm of ordinary activities to be reestablished.

The people have already forgotten when the Baku-Stepanakert passenger train last arrived in the station. The highways continue to be blockaded, which further exacerbates social tension.

The Armenians of the NKAO have never attached great hopes to the current session of the country's Supreme Soviet. Nevertheless, they have not yet lost their optimism. They have already made their unanimous choice. The Artsakh people are confident that sooner or later their decision will be taken into consideration. They consider themselves an indivisible part of Armenia. This is their reasonable and just demand.

Decision on Azerbaijan Constitutional Changes

NC2211092189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 21 Nov 89

[From Republican Press Review]

[Text] Today's newspapers report on the law adopted by the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] in connection with the changes and additions that will be made to the Azerbaijan SSR's constitution. The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision to make these changes and additions to the Azerbaijan SSR's constitution in line with the changes and additions effected in the USSR's Constitution during the 13th extraordinary session of the 11th convocation of the USSR Surpeme Soviet with a view to improve socialist democracy and self-management by the people, strengthen the election system, and consolidate the structures and activities of the soviets of people's deputies and the judicial organs.

Baku—Lenkoran Gorkom First Secretary Replaced

NC2011090089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 18 Nov 89

[From Republican Press Review]

[Text] The newspapers report that a plenum held by the Lenkoran City Party Committee [Gorkom] has relieved Adil Rakhimov of his responsibilities as first secretary of Lenkoran Gorkom on the grounds that he has been appointed to another post. Rizayev, who earlier held the post of second secretary of Lenkoran Gorkom, was unanimously elected first secretary. Viktor Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the work of the plenum.

Meanwhile, the report published in the newspapers on the meeting of the executive board of the republic's women's council says that the council relieved Azize (?Gokdzhe-Zade) of her responsibilities as chairwoman of the board at her request. Vezirova, who [words indistinct], was elected to replace her.

New Economic Planning Department in NKAO

NC1911132789 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 18 Nov 89

[From Republican Press Review]

[Text] The YEREKOYAN YEREVAN paper has published an interview with Setrak Setrakyan, head of the chief economic planning department of the Special Administration Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and a member of the NKAO National Council. The department he heads was created recently, with the aim of bringing about the economic independence of the NKAO.

Self-determination has no meaning if the people cannot protect themselves and develop in accordance with the natural vital laws, Setrakyan asserted. Therefore, where the NKAO is concerned, self-determination is impossible without self-management, self-care, and self-preservation on the part of the native population of the oblast. Artsakh [NKAO] must be able to stand alone even when it receives no assistance from outside. The new department has been created with this in mind, Setrakyan stated.

Turkmen Party Bureau Reprimands Minister

90US0190A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 11 Nov 89 p 2

[Article by M. Meleshenko, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent, Ashkhabad: "Premier Was Officially Reprimanded"]

[Text] The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Turkmen Communist Party reprimanded A. Khodzhamuradov, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic, for poor exactingness in the fight against such negative phenomena as upward distortions of actual results.

It would seem that upward distortions and eyewash are exclusively stagnant "sicknesses." But recurrences of similar epidemics crop up in our time as well. Here is an example.

During recent years, the Iolotanskiy Rayon of Turkmenia was considered the model of a progressive experiment in cotton growing. Both specialists and journalists assembled here in order to find out in greater detail about the "skillful organizational and educational work" of the Iolotan cotton growers. But not long ago, when an unannounced thorough check was made, it was revealed that the rayon made upward distortions to last year's real harvest of crops, at a minimum, of one-fourth "of what was reported"—more than 8,000 tons for the sum of about R9 million. And upward distortions, incidentally, were allowed in all 11 economic rayons.

The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Turkmenistan Communist Party assessed what had happened not only as an economic, but also as a political ChP (extraordinary event). Called to strict party account were A. Mukhamedova, the first secretary of the party raykom [rayon party committee], and M. Klychev, chairman of the ispolkom [executive committee] of the rayon soviet of people's deputies. They were relieved of their posts. Criminal proceedings have been initiated against a number of economic managers and specialists.

In addition to the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic, certain other officials from the higher echelon of republic authority were also punished. A. Abdullayev, first deputy secretary of the Gosagroprom TSSR (State Agroindustrial Committee of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic), received a severe party reprimand with an entry in his record card, and he was relieved of his post, and a severe reprimand was issued to his chief, Yu. Mogilevets, chairman of the Gosagroprom of the republic.

... The celebrated case about the upward distortions in the Iolotanskiy Rayon of the Mary Oblast moves one to sad reflections. Because it seems that it was not so long ago that hundreds of people in the republic were discharged from work, removed from the party, and lost their freedom. And there is the Iolotan recurrence. Apparently, reprimands alone, and even charges of criminal liability, will not cure an unhealthy drive to defraud the state. The roots of evil have sunk very deep into the system of the economy itself, where such immoral illegal actions are possible.

... Now, the rayon firmly holds last place in the republic report on state purchases of cotton. Although I note that the crop that was grown here is not a bit worse than last year, and the weather is favorably disposed for shock work. But there are others who are now the front rank workers.

Kazakh SSR Foreign Minister Appointed

LD2011160489 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium has decreed to appoint Agmaral Khaydar-kizy Arystanbekova as minister of foreign affairs of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

Kazakh Supreme Soviet Approves Next Year's Plan

PM2111143089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Session's Work"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 14 Nov—Next year nearly all the detergent requirements of the people of Kazakhstan will be met from their own production. That is just a small illustration of the social orientation of the republic's economy envisaged in the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] for 1990, the draft of which was examined by deputies at the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet session held today in the republic's capital.

For all the weight of the burden of unsolved problems, in the current 5-year plan a breakthrough has been achieved in overcoming inertia in the development of the republic's national economy, and the role of intensive factors is increasing. The average annual rate of growth in profit is nearly three times the level of the previous 5-year plan period, and the number of loss-making economic units [khozyaystva] has been reduced by one-third.

Housing construction remains a priority. Under the "Housing-91" program, there has been a sharp increase in the volume of construction and the possibility has arisen of fulfilling the 5-year plan in this sector in the 1st quarter of 1990 and commissioning 7 million square meters of housing above target. As a result over the 5 years 41.2 million square meters of housing will have been commissioned and 3.9 million people will improve their housing conditions.

Taking into account amendments submitted by deputies, the Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution "On the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Kazakh SSR for 1990."

The republic Supreme Soviet ratified the Kazakh SSR State Budget for 1990 and the report on implementation of the State Budget in 1988.

In a resolution on the concept of self-management and self-financing in the Kazakh SSR, the Supreme Soviet took note of the government's report on the work being done in this direction and instructed the Council of Ministers to finalize the draft concept in the light of proposals being submitted and in the context of the forthcoming adoption of laws on ownership, land, and so forth, and to submit a draft law on this question for examination by the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet.

The deputies unanimously adopted a Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet appeal to the country's government and to USSR people's deputies for tests at the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing range to stop.

Kazakh Informals Form Unofficial Association

PM2011161589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by Vladimir Ardayev: "Informals' Association Set Up"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—An association of independent public organizations has been set up in Alma-Ata.

It comprises 14 different informal organizations, both republican and regional. They include the "Green Front" of Kazakhstan, the Alma-Ata party club, branches of the "Memorial" society, the republican "Union" cooperative association, the "Birlesu-Association" independent trade union, a branch of the Democratic Union, the Frunzenskiy Rayon voters' club of Alma-Ata, and a number of others. The purpose behind the creation of the association, S. Dubanov, member of the organizing committee that set it up, explained, is to unite the republic's progressive forces for the social reorganization of society. A special coordinating council was set up, in which representatives of all the association's members participate on an equal basis. It was decided to hold congresses of independent Kazakhstan public organizations at least once a year.

It must be pointed out that several of the association's members are informal organizations that do not have official status in the republic. The association itself has not been registered by the executive organs of power either. Nor was the inaugural meeting sanctioned, although a representative of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Department participated in it.

East Kazakhstan Obkom Elects New First Secretary

LD2011160389 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] A plenum of the East Kazakhstan Oblast Party Committee was held today. It examined an organizational matter. The plenum relieved Milkin of his duties as first secretary of the Oblast Committee in connection with his retirement on pension because of his state of health.

After a discussion, members of the oblast committee proposed the candidacy of (Tutevol), head of the organizational party and cadres work of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee, and (Sternertov), first secretary of the Shemonaikha rayon of East Kazakhstan oblast.

In a secret vote, the majority elected (Tutevol) as first secretary of the Oblast Party Committee. Anufriyev, second secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

Yakovlev Speaks to Students at Komsomol School

LD2111233889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] There was a meeting in Moscow today at the higher party school attached to the VLKSM [Komsomol] Central Committee. Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev met with the editors of youth newspapers, teachers, and students of the higher Komsomol school. Comrade Yakovlev said the following during his speech:

[Begin Yakovlev recording] A gap occurred between political reform that progressed and economic reform that remained behind. And what emerged was in a way, as I would call it, a black sort of chimney from which black smoke started to belch. That is all this, I mean, inefficiency which has not decreased but increased. It is the violent ethnic outbursts. It is also a growth of crime including organized crime. It is the emergence of extremism on the left and right—I am not talking about opinions to the right and left; that is normal and is needed—I am talking simply about the manifestations of extremism, that or the other. Now one can very often hear: Let's say the press is interfering. There is a lot of criticism. Almost with any audience, if one wants to draw applause, it is sufficient for him to say a few critical words about the press, that it has gone too far, that it does not, you see, show that everything is alright. The impression is created that if, say, one were to close them down tomorrow for a week—the mass media, that is—then everything would be okay. The shelves in stores would be full, and everything would be alright with history, with Stalinism, as if it were already not Stalinism, but something rather positive, and the people's mood would improve, and housing would appear and the consumer goods—all this would be if not for the press, you understand. It is in the way. And in no way—either it is premeditated or from lack of understanding—but at least in any case the comrades cannot understand that the press only reflects the events that exist in life and carries the secondary information but not at all the primary. [end recording]

Later, Comrade Yakovlev addressed the problems of the arts.

[Begin Yakovlev recording] Socialist culture is one of the watersheds in world development. And here we can gain a great deal. In no way should we fall into temptation that one can do it on the basis of financial autonomy, without grants, for instance. No, on such a basis, in search of profits, the arts will degenerate, this is my deep conviction. The arts, culture should be given space—social and creative space. And only then can it create. And the state and society should not begrudge the money for this. The musician, the artist, the writer should not go about looking for handouts. And all of us should somehow, I should like to use this occasion to say this, somehow overcome this barrier of this negative, suspicious attitude toward intelligentsia. [end recording]

[Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 21 November in its "Vremya" newscast carries a video report on Yakovlev's speech at the higher Komsomol school. After short excerpts of the speech, an unidentified "Vremya" correspondent interviews Yakovlev in the auditorium and asks him why he spoke to these students. Yakovlev replies: "Today I do not like the fact that a great deal of impatience, some kind of malice, some kind of unbridled emotions, some kind of raging, incomprehensible passions, are appearing in society which obscure the social processes and do not allow social life to be seen as it is. They then cover up the aims as well. That is, the passion for the emotional side of the events that are occurring somehow devours the essential part, the essence of this process. I would like to tell you a simple, simple thing: Let's look at life realistically."]

Ryzhkov Exchanges With Students Cited

PM2211100589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "N.I. Ryzhkov's Answers to Questions From Delegates to the All-Union Students Forum"]

[Text] As reported, N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, answered questions from participants in the All-Union Students Forum on 16 November. We are publishing an abridged transcript of this conversation.

Question: What is your attitude to private ownership?

Answer: I want to tell you straightaway frankly that I do not change my convictions according to my audience. You know that I had an opportunity to express my views on this question recently at the USSR Supreme Soviet during the discussion of the draft Law on Ownership. I set out my stance there clearly and I would like to reaffirm it here.

First, I believe that ownership is not only an economic but also a sociopolitical concept. We must proceed on that premise.

Why is the question of private ownership so acute? Many people believe that if we proclaim private ownership today, the socioeconomic environment and the socioeconomic position of our people will change drastically. I am profoundly convinced that this is not the root of the problem. The fact is that, while creating our model of socialism, over the decades we have indeed reached a situation whereby state ownership in the country totals 85 percent, while other forms of ownership—cooperative ownership, ownership by consumer cooperatives, ownership by public organizations—total only 15 percent. A system of economic relations has been set up within the framework of state ownership which has alienated working people from the means of production. That is where the trouble lies. If we had at one time found the kind of economic relations that would have enabled man's potential to come to light, so that he realized that it is not merely some kind of abstract notion but his own hard-won property which feeds him, then we would not have the situation we now have.

We do have ways of really accomplishing this fundamental task in our economic and social development.

First. We must sharply reduce the proportion of state ownership. Whereas it totals 85 percent today, in our opinion (these are strictly preliminary calculations, hardly anyone would give precise figures with confidence at this stage) state ownership in the classical understanding of the term should total approximately 30 percent in the country. Comprising railroads, electric power stations, gas pipelines, and so on. That is property that should always belong to the state as a whole. Incidentally, many capitalist countries keep this ownership in state hands.

As for all the rest we must find new forms—joint stock companies where everyone can be an owner, cooperative ownership, leasing—that is, there are many forms which enable us to accomplish this fundamental task. This, in my opinion, is the purpose of further transformations in our economy as far as forms of ownership and production relations are concerned.

We acknowledge individual ownership and will develop it in the future. Hitherto when individual ownership was mentioned, this only referred to the consumer area. The new draft law plans to ensure that this ownership can also have a production character. Let, for instance, a man buy a truck and work with it. We are in favor of that. But the most important thing is to ensure that exploitation of man is ruled out. That, in my opinion, is the route for our further advance in this direction. This will in many respects determine our country's future.

Question: Market mechanisms for regulating economic relations have proved their worth splendidly abroad. Why are we trying to invent something new?

Answer: To be frank, we have very little experience of this. In the twenties, during the period of New Economic Policy, economic methods of economic management were tried out. Then all this was lost and we have not approached the problem for 60-70 years. It was only in the second half of the eighties that we began to tackle it. We are trying to make the maximum use of all the useful elements in countries with a market economy—everything that is acceptable to our social system and our economy. But we must take a realistic view of things. For many measures which seemed to promise a rapid return find themselves in an economic and even psychological environment that is totally unprepared for this. We have to definitely work to ensure that these measures are understood. We must patiently adapt these approaches because we cannot adopt foreign experience lock, stock, and barrel. It is not totally acceptable to us, but we have borrowed a great deal from it, and will continue to place everything beneficial at the service of the economy.

Question: The Law on Unified Taxation is currently under discussion and makes no provision for abatements for our student enterprises.

Answer: I believe that we have simply neglected this and this comment must certainly be taken into consideration when the finishing touches—it has not yet been discussed at the Supreme Soviet—are put to the law. I consider the formulation of the question correct.

Question: What is being done about material supplies for higher and secondary special educational establishments and material supplies for students?

Answer: The government considers that both questions merit a most serious attitude. Today the material base of many educational establishments—I stress many, not all (we also have very well-equipped educational establishments)—in many respects does not accord with the level of technical equipment available for enterprises and organizations where you work after completing your studies. This does not enable a young specialist's potential to really come to light. On arriving at an enterprise, he sees quite different equipment from that on which he was trained. The task is to substantially improve the situation. How can we do this? There are two ways.

The first is redistribution: We can take things away from some people and give them to you. I am not ruling this out. Evidently, when we work on the 13th 5-year plan we will have to consider very carefully once again how to improve the material base of higher and secondary special educational establishments. The other way lies in the hands of teachers and students at higher educational establishments [VUZ]. Is it really tolerable that 50 percent of the country's doctors and candidates of sciences working in VUZ's carry out something in the region of 10 percent of research and design work? We must make it possible for the tremendous intellectual potential of the teaching corps and students to come to light, make better use of their knowledge in research and design work, and thus strengthen the VUZ material base.

With regard to material supplies for students, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said today that we have discussed this question in both the Politburo and the government. We realize that it is urgent and must be resolved. All things considered, R2-2.5 million will be needed to achieve an acceptable level of grants. We recently discussed the draft Law on Pensions. It affects tens of millions of people but it is also costly—R29 billion per year. We recently submitted a proposal along with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions on changing the leave system. This will also affect you in a few years. It is also costly—R9 billion per year. In all, approximately R40 billion are needed for the two laws alone.

But that does not mean that student problems must not be solved. I believe that we must set about resolving them as of 1991.

Question: Why cross swords at the forum if the material and social position of specialists with a higher education is clearly unsatisfactory? Let labor collectives determine whether they need specialists.

Answer: I believe that a very serious problem has been broached here. In terms of the sphere of material production, there have been improvements here recently because economic accountability [khozraschet]—elements of which we are gradually putting into effect—is enabling labor collectives to assess for themselves everyone's contribution and determine their reward accordingly. This is what happens at those plants which operate in conditions of khozraschet. Of course, the position of state budgetary organizations is more complex. More rigid quotas are established there for everything. Thus it is our task, while implementing radical economic reform, to boost labor remuneration for young specialists from higher or secondary special educational establishments.

Now a word about interest in training them. Certainly, enterprises which ask for young specialists must be involved in financing their instruction. I believe that this is right. But I would like to voice the misgiving that enterprises may forget about intellectual potential when transferring to khozraschet and determining expenditure—what should be spent on wages and what on reproduction. Here is an example. We transferred science to khozraschet and sensed straightaway that academic institutes which had been working on groundwork projects stretching many years ahead found themselves worse off materially than those tackling current transitory problems and tasks. They do not in many respects go with the future development of scientific and technical progress. That is the situation here. We have to seek to ensure that conditions of khozraschet do not drive out young workers with high qualifications, otherwise we may shortly find ourselves without good specialists. That is tantamount to stagnation. That is why we must watch attentively to see that the number of specialists does not fall drastically.

Question: Is it not time to free student cooperatives from taxation?

Answer: I believe that this question was put correctly. If we have created favorable tax incentives for certain categories of our society, this must also be done for students.

Question: Following the Armenian earthquake it was announced that we would revive the stricken region in 2 years. Is that realistic? If so, how is it to be done, if not, then what do you think about this?

Answer: Certainly, when the earthquake took place, when we assessed the situation, we mapped out a program to revive this area in 2 years. Government documents were adopted with precisely this calculation in mind.

What is the situation today? We are lagging behind. I do not believe that we will keep to 2 years, another year will perhaps be needed. There are two reasons for this. The first is that we failed to take into consideration the increase in the cost of building facilities in Armenia—a very considerable increase in view of the increased requirements of

seismic stability—the drafts were changed and we now have to spend twice as much as, say, in the center of Russia. The second reason is the instability of the situation in the Transcaucasus. Approximately 50,000 construction workers from all republics were working in the earthquake zone prior to the transport blockade, erecting housing and other facilities. Some people left during the blockade when trains carrying construction materials failed to get through. Our task is to restore smooth working and fulfill our promises to the Armenian people with the assistance of the whole country.

Question: When will the question of the test site in the area around the city of Semipalatinsk be resolved? This worries everyone in the vicinity.

Answer: We would be delighted to adopt a decision today on the cessation of tests, but let us take a realistic view of this. You know that the Soviet Union observed its unilateral moratorium for 18 months and did not conduct a single test in that time. Not a single one. We waited patiently for the United States to stop testing. But when so much time had elapsed and the Americans had conducted a large number of explosions, perfecting their weapons, we were forced to continue tests. What did we do here? First, we drastically reduced the number of nuclear tests. Second, you know the ceiling set under the agreement—150 kilotonnes. We are strictly making sure that the explosions' yield does not exceed half this figure—75 kilotonnes. We agreed to this. We are now studying the possibility of further reducing the number of explosions. But I believe that students must also take part in fighting for the universal cessation of nuclear tests and appeal to American students for support in this matter. We may find ourselves in a very complex position, having unilaterally stopped improving our weapons.

A word about the people living in these regions. We have ordered a group of specialists to be set up to once again attentively study all the problems in the life of these people, their medical services, and so on, and the government will return to this problem once again in the first quarter of 1990 and examine a whole complex of measures.

Question: What is your attitude to the resumption of the strike in Vorkuta, including the miners' demands that northern coefficients be paid to young specialists born in Vorkuta who have returned to the city's enterprises after their studies?

Answer: You recall the summer strike by the country's miners. Our attitude was quite clear—people in this very complex, grave, and, I would even say, heroic profession had indeed accumulated many social problems. When we came to the negotiating table with the miners, we adopted important decisions on this score. Resolution 608 was the upshot. Miners from all our country's coalfields took part in preparing it. The country's government and political leadership did everything in our power. We accommodated the miners. Not because they were striking but because they did indeed have many problems. We reacted with understanding when people put forward their demands using this extreme form—strikes. The government will monitor the fulfillment of this resolution constantly.

Of course, there have been some deviations from the planned timeframes, particularly with regard to the material and technical provisioning of mines. I cannot say that everything is being carried out ideally, but it is being carried out on the whole. My attitude to the strike in Vorkuta is a negative one. Especially since we are on the verge of winter. The strikers have put forward five demands, including a demand regarding the preservation of strike committees. This question does not fall within the government's competence. The Supreme Soviet has determined the procedure for regulating labor conflicts, strikes. No one is entitled to violate this procedure. In this case it is being violated. We have invited representatives from all coalfields to the Council of Ministers 17 November and will devote a whole day to examining the progress made in fulfilling Resolution No 608.

Now as for northern coefficients for young people living there. The question must be considered for the country as a whole. It cannot be resolved for Vorkuta alone. Are there conditions for this today? In my view, there aren't. Considering what I told you about pensions, leave, and grants.... The problem must be discussed, but not today.

Question: Does the Council of Ministers have specific reserves for improving students' material position? How much do they amount to?

Answer: I have mentioned the amount, there are no reserves. Let us ponder where we will get all this from.

Question: Why do VUZ's not obtain interest—albeit minimal interest—on the hard-currency revenue they receive from training foreign students?

Answer: I believe that this situation must be rectified.

Question: What is the level of inflation in the country? How large is the state budget deficit today and how can we extricate ourselves from this situation?

Answer: What is the level of inflation? We had no means of determining rates of inflation 2 years ago. The USSR State Committee for Statistics has now elaborated one. I will touch on two sides of this problem.

Our market is not balanced and that is why there is a great deal of money in circulation with no material backup. This is also a kind of inflation. With regard to price inflation, according to our specialists, on average—I stress on average—it is approximately 2.2 percent. But the point is that there are above average price increases for some consumer goods (not counting milk and other products whose prices are stable), especially for fruit and vegetables. People need food products every day and you get the impression that this percentage is a devious figure and that inflation is in fact higher. But we must take into account the fact that prices for some consumer goods are relatively stable.

How large is the state budget deficit? We entered 1989 with a deficit of R120 billion or more than 20 percent of the budget. That is impermissible. Many disorders—both in the consumer market and in the sphere of production where there is a shortage of construction and other materials—are attributable to the fact that the market is unbalanced. It is estimated that we will enter the new year 1990 with a deficit of approximately R95 billion. As we can see, the steps we have taken will enable us to somewhat reduce the deficit. During the ratification of the 1990 plan the Supreme Soviet supported the government's proposal to ensure that the budget deficit does not exceed R60 billion. We are proceeding on the premise that a large budget deficit cannot be tolerated. We will be unable to develop our country's economy normally until we bring it to the acceptable maximum of 2-3 percent of our GNP. We must answer the question as to how many years it will take to eliminate the impermissible state budget deficit at the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies 12 December this year, when the government presents its proposals for economic recovery for the next 5-year plan. We are now working on them. I do not want to anticipate things but, evidently, it will require very strenuous work in 1991-1992—in addition to 1990—to reduce the state budget deficit to an acceptable level.

Question: Will educational establishments under sectoral jurisdiction be transferred to republics' public education systems? Will there be a change in the practice of distributing young specialists to areas afflicted by the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station?

Answer: Over the last few years the following problem always arose when considering higher education's various needs: Should higher educational establishments be left under the jurisdiction of definite economic sectors or made subordinate to the State Committee for Public Education? Opinions differ. Several years ago we tried to transfer sectoral institutes to the State Committee for Public Education. Everyone objected categorically. When the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee was disbanded—and our agro-industrial complex system had more than 100 higher educational establishments—people wanted to transfer them to the union republics. We received letters from all these institutes, including from students, categorically demanding not to be transferred to the republics and demanding that the unified organizational structure be preserved. We were forced to set up an administration dealing with higher educational establishments at the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food. I believe that we must examine and resolve these questions in each individual case.

A word about allocating young specialists to the areas afflicted by the accident at the Chernobyl power station. Young specialists worked there and will continue to do so. Who but they could undertake the business that is so necessary there. The fact that material incentives should be created for young specialists, considering the complexities there, is another matter for discussion. In view of this, we will once again see how we can help here.

N.I. Ryzhkov also answered a number of other questions from the participants in the forum.

Institute Member Says CPSU Could Change Name

PM2111154289 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 19 Nov 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Will CPSU Change Its Name? 'We Are Discussing It'"]

[Excerpt] Rome—"I realize that it could be distressing for many members, but sooner or later the decision will be inevitable: The name 'communist' must be changed. And I believe that this debate will begin soon within the CPSU, too." This is said in an interview with L'ESPRESSO by Aleksandr Zipko, deputy director of the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System [name and post as published], a research center used by the CPSU. Zipko argues, among other things, that "under Berlinguer Italian Communists went further than anyone along the path of renewal, precisely in matters of substance." "That they should now be wanting to change name," he observes, "seems to me a logical consequence, a way of being more consistent with their real situation. We must take stock of the old precisely in order to help the emergence of the new. Many of our ideas have proved utopian, and the Communists' program cannot be implemented as Marx once believed. The parties of the old communist movement must be able to set themselves new objectives and new programs."

Asked whether the CPSU, too, is broaching the issue of a change of name, Zipko replies: "There is a clash of differing opinions; some people are starting to raise the possibility of changing name, though it has not yet been discussed publicly. When it does happen—soon, I hope—my proposal will be to restore to the CPSU its old name of social democratic party. Basically the crises experienced by my country stem partly from this radicalization, from this dogmatic view of reality. If it happens, changing name will mean for the CPSU granting a specific identity to the innovation that we are striving to bring about." [passage omitted]

Moscow People's Front Publishes New Paper

LD2111115989 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Summary] A new newspaper under the title NAKANUNE VESNY ["On the Eve of Spring"] appeared in Moscow on the eve of the celebrations of the Great October Revolution. The paper is published by the Union of Democrats of the Moscow People's Front.

Opinion Poll Shows Division on Cooperatives

LD1811052589 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vadim Kokarev:

The diverse and conflicting attitudes towards cooperatives voiced during heated debates at the second session of the Soviet parliament simply reflect attitudes in society, a recent public opinion poll conducted by the National Centre of Public Opinion Studies has revealed. In society as a whole, more than 3,000 people were polled in the Russian Federation, Armenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Uzbekistan.

The survey revealed that a considerable number of urban residents agree with Soviet deputies who support the development of cooperatives in the country.

Respondents in this group, accounting for 45 per cent of the total number of people polled, said cooperators had managed to show, within a relatively brief period, that the potential of their activity was immense. Products offered by this sector are in great demand.

However, the overwhelming majority of the population shared the opinion aired in parliament, that serious negative tendencies have emerged in the development of cooperatives due to the destablisation of the consumer market and malfunctioning of the financial system.

Serious discontent with the quality of cooperative products was voiced by 58 per cent of respondents, and 91 per cent were dissatisfied with prices.

The survey results attest to the fact that Soviet people approve the development of cooperatives in construction (79 per cent), agriculture and everyday services (74 per cent) and the collection and reprocessing of secondhand raw materials.

At the same time, negative attitudes prevail towards cooperative activity in retail trade, health services, public catering and education.

Commentator Praises Shevardnadze, Foreign Policy

LD2111191389 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] For the first time in many years, and probably decades, this country today has a foreign minister who keeps the door to his department wide open. A report to the USSR Supreme Soviet, metings with young people and women journalists, and an exclusive interview to Radio Moscow, these are some examples of Eduard Shevardnadze's recent public activity. A Radio Moscow commentator, Mikhail Mayorov, has more.

Eduard Shevardnadze told Parliament several weeks ago he would be prepared to resign if he was urged to accept a decision he found immoral. That was something his predecessors did not dare. Besides, it was by no means an attempt to woo the lawmakers. In the final count, no Supreme Soviet members, even the most critical ones, had any objections or fundamental arguments against Shevardnadze either when his nomination for foreign minister was considered or when he made his report.

Eduard Shevardnadze owes his authority mostly to his sincerity, that no one doubts, and openness he has introduced to the Foreign Ministry's activity. It's one of his achievements that the Foreign Ministry has again become accountable to Parliament, as it was in the first years after the revolution. Eduard Shevardnadze has won acclaim as a keen diplomat, which has been confirmed by many of those he has met with at the negotiating table. He is associated with the INF Treaty, which is likely to go down in post-war history. The Foreign Ministry and its leader have done a great deal to establish a climate that made possible the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

Soviet foreign policy is getting more flexible and sophisticated. Some in the West were amazed at Moscow's tolerant and reserved reaction to changes in Eastern Europe. Meanwhile, it's just a manifestation of respect for the right of each nation to its own way of development and of commitment to common humanitarian values. The Soviet Foreign Ministry's statements on the worsening situation in Nicaragua and El Salvador are examples of this. They are more impartial and balanced.

Independent Researchers To Review Armed Forces

LD1411103189 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] At the initiative of the Soviet Peace Committee, an independent research into the activity of the Soviet Armed Forces and into the scope of the war danger will be conducted in the country.

More than 100 experts and public figures, including political analysts, military specialists, scientists and diplomats will be involved in it. They will focus on the ways to convert military production into civilian.

Everyone knows that the Soviet Union has pledged to unilaterally reduce its armed forces by 500,000 men and make substantial cuts in its military spending.

Upon conclusion of their research the inspectors will submit their report to the Supreme Soviet.

Readers' Queries on Deputies' Congress

90UN0311A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 46, 18-24 Nov 89 p 8

[Report on interview with Deputy K. Lubenchenko, member of the committee on questions of legislation, legality, and law and order, by A. Uglanov; date and place not specified]

[Text] **On Monday 13 November the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the agenda for the forthcoming 2d USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The debates were heated at times. After the discussion our correspondent A. Uglanov met with a member of the committee on questions of legislation, legality, and law and order, Deputy K. Lubenchenko, and asked him to answer a number of**

questions from readers of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY which had come up in connection with the forthcoming congress.

[Uglanov] Observing the work of the Supreme Soviet, many are convinced that the discussion of a number of fundamental issues could be prolonged. When five times as many people are participating in it, it will be even more difficult to come to a point of mutual understanding. Will the congress be able to solve all the problems earmarked by the regulations in a week?

[Lubenchenko] The congress can submit decisions on fairly obvious questions. But, for instance, to adopt immediate measures to get the country out of a crisis after having discussed them for only 1 day is extremely problematic. Therefore it seems to me that the congress should have considered two or three questions, one of them being changes and additions to the USSR Constitution. But we could not foresee all of them. Even now, during the process of working on the regulations we have discovered a mass of problems which can be solved only by making changes and corrections to the constitution. It is impossible to do this without the congress. Therefore, a circle is being formed through which it is impossible to pass and we shall always be bound by the need to convene the congress.

[Uglanov] Konstantin Dmitriyevich, the 19th Party Conference proclaimed a policy of separation of party and state functions. The implementation of this policy should probably be a full-fledged separation of the judicial, legislative, and executive powers. The fact that the process has begun can be seen with the "naked eye" but the speeches of certain deputies focus attention on the difficulties of this path.

[Lubenchenko] Yes, this process is in the stage of emergence. If we do not solve the problem of separation of power it will be impossible to carry out the task proclaimed by the party conference of delimiting the functions of party and state organs. Therefore, power in the country actually belongs to the party, and Article 6 of the Constitution legally reinforces this.

[Uglanov] The debates on the possibility of considering precisely this article at the congress, as millions of television viewers saw, were extremely turbulent.

[Lubenchenko] It became a kind of symbol around various viewpoints of party and nonparty members crossed from purely ideological positions. But it is not the article that give the party the power—it only reflects it legally—but the lack of separation of power.

The introduction in 1977 to the then new USSR Constitution of Article 6 concerning the guiding and directive force of the Soviet society only formalized the fact of the party's special role. At that time, this article was interpreted in scholarly works in such a way that the party comes within the framework of the law and begins to operate as a legalized sociopolitical organization.

But the authority of a social organization should be developed not through a legal presumption of its power but through concrete political work. Therefore if we strengthen party government, the constitution should contain norms that clearly regulate the limits of party activity with respect to the power in the state. Such a norm must exist because there have always been ruling parties and they have always solved problems of power by advancing their own candidates to power organs.

[Uglanov] Some readers are confused about the fact that many rank-and-file members of the party seem to be locked in indecision about what to do. This is at a time when there is simply too much to do....

[Lubenchenko] Of course this question is very crucial. We must pay attention to the circumstance that our party is historically the only guaranteed expression of internationality, that is, the implementation of a unified policy in relations among peoples. In spite of the latest negative collisions in interethnic relations, under the conditions of the aggravation of various encounters, any guarantee, including one from the party, becomes significant.

Therefore in this situation it is necessary to take into account party influence and the fact that an immense number of communists are not a part of the "apparatus." Incidentally, many party members, myself included, were elected at elections in their electoral okrugs. We are defending our positions and we do not intend to part with our party cards.

But it is very important that the party is being restructured. We cannot wait very long. In this case this will be a truly authorized organization which can easily cope with problems of power and the provision of cadre selection based on the general laws that exist with respect to any social organizations or parties. So the rank-and-file communists are waiting first of all for the renewal of organizational structures, that is, the apparatus. It is now becoming more and more obvious that it incudes new forces—honest and sincere people. Unfortunately, this process is taking place very slowly.

[Uglanov] But the positive process is still taking place. As an example I could give the TV broadcasts of the debates in the Supreme Soviet, including on questions of the fate of article 6 of the USSR Constitution. Is this not an example of solving the most crucial problems through a discussion in which both Politburo members and rank-and-file communists participated.

[Lubenchenko] Yes there are more and more of these examples but something else still remains. Recently I granted an interview to the "Vremya" program on a question that relates to the law on the press. But this interview did not end up on the program.

But still I hope that the draft law will be brought up for discussion before the opening of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and published in the press for broad discussion.

Ministries, Departments Declassify Information

LD0211114789 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] A number of Soviet ministries and departments have reduced the volume of previously classified information by 35-40 percent. The figures were revealed by a KGB spokesman, (Viktor Ugarov). For example, photos taken in orbit have been declassified and are now offered for sale on the foreign market. Many state archives have been made available to the public, just as a large volume of information about major incidents, such as the Chernobyl disaster.

European Security Committee Session Held

PM0611144589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

["Own Information" report: "For Common Home in Europe"]

[Text] An expanded session of the Bureau of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation was held in Moscow 2 November this year. The session's participants honored the memory of the committee's late chairman, L.N. Tolkunov.

As a result of the consultations held between the public organizations which founded the committee and discussion at the session, Professor V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and adviser to the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, was elected chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

The participants in the session heard information on the committee's work recently and outlined measures to galvanize its activity under the conditions of the processes of perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost taking place in our country and the connected positive changes in the European and international arena which are prompting all public forces to make a weightier contribution to the further elaboration and implementation of the ideas of building the common European home.

The participants in the session resolved a number of organizational questions and scheduled a conference of founders of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation for summer 1990.

AFL-CIO Aid to Independent Unions Criticized

904F0020A Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by Yu. Igorev: "Where the Hand of the AFL-CIO Extends"]

[Text] The leadership of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) is following the restructuring processes in the Soviet Union, especially in the trade union movement, with constant and by no means disinterested attention. One bit of evidence of this was the declaration of the AFL-CIO executive committee, "Workers and Communism."

The declaration made an attempt to analyze the state of the trade union movement in the socialist countries, above all the USSR, in light of the large-scale political and economic reforms being conducted there. But it was not only or not even so much a matter of analysis. Something else was much more important: The declaration proclaimed essentially a new program of action with respect to the trade unions of these countries.

As concerns the Soviet Union, the AFL-CIO leadership draws this basic conclusion: The strike movement of the miners of the Kuzbass and Donbass this summer was "evidence that the Soviet workers will be the main force in the future struggle for democracy in the USSR."

But it is certainly not the fate and struggle of all Soviet workers that are bothering the AFL-CIO leaders. They are casting aside those whom they link to the "official trade union" as "appendages of the state" and they rejoice with unconcealed enthusiasm about the idea that the "movement toward independent trade unionism in the USSR is gathering force."

The AFL-CIO leaders link all of their long-standing hopes to this "independent trade unionism:" Both the splitting of Soviet trade unions and the possibility of intervening and "influencing" their activity. This is not simply a "declaration of intentions." This is essentially an open proclamation of a program of action. "The AFL-CIO is prepared to render assistance to free labor movements in the communist world." "We are prepared to extend our hand to independent trade unions in the USSR." That is how the issue is posed.

And, judging from everything, the words "extended hand" are linked to quite practical intentions. In any case attention is drawn to the following fact. During the course of the trip of special assistant to the U.S. secretary of state for trade union affairs (!) E. Freeman to Donetsk and Leningrad and visits to a number of regions in the Baltic area and the Western Ukraine by American diplomats, concrete ways were earmarked for rendering various kinds of assistance through channels controlled by the American government, to "truly independent organizations of workers in the USSR which represent the interests of their members and not those of the state or the party." What is the connection here between the AFL-CIO and the state department? They have been coordinating their "independent" actions for a long time and quite reliably. It is no accident that there is the aforementioned position of special assistant to the secretary of state for trade union affairs. Their coordinated policy of refusing entry visas to the United States to trade union workers and activists is no accident either. But the connections with the AFL-CIO do not end in the state department. For a long time now, within the framework of the so-called public diplomacy, the U.S. government has been allotting the AFL-CIO about 40

million dollars precisely for "increasing its influence" in trade unions in other countries.

Recently the AFL-CIO leadership has been trying to increase its influence on its West European partners to reactivate the policy of isolation of Soviet trade unions in the international trade union movement. It is fairly well known that the majority of trade union centers of Western Europe and other regions have received with great interest and sympathy the trade union process as a whole as well as its "trade union" aspect. Contacts and ties are increasing and the climate of trade union relations in Europe is improving. But in the United States there are still quite a few people for whom it is disadvantageous to remove the "iron curtain," for whom it is absolutely necessary to have an enemy against whom they can fight with all their might. As we know, for many years the elite of the American trade union bureaucracy spared neither effort nor money on anticommunist propaganda and "throwing communism out" of the international trade union movement. Now that socialism has entered a period of self-renewal, to recognize that it has this capacity would be tantamount to losing a good deal of invested capital. Moreover, in an atmosphere of cooperation that is not clouded by signs of the cold war the inability of the American trade union bureaucracy to cope with the decline of its own prestige would be much more noticeable both at home and abroad. For it is no accident that the number of trade union members included in the American trade union center has decreased from 25 to 14 million in past years. So the attempts on the part of leaders of this trade union center to teach us anything, not to mention sticking their fingers into our trade union business, seem all the more absurd.

We ourselves must figure out and are figuring out how to overcome the serious crisis of confidence in social structures in our country, including the trade unions. The current sociopolitical situation in the country has raised the question of trade union activity sharply and in a new way. This is why this 6th AUCCTU [All-Union Central Trade Union Council], along with harsh self-criticism, set the task of making a difficult but necessary about-face, a radical restructuring of trade union work, and the ensurance of priority protection of trade union functions.

Many problems are facing the working man who has no other income than wages, who is living under conditions of a shortage of goods and inflation, and at a time when certain economists are calling for solving the country's problems at the expense of the worker himself, through raising prices and sharply differentiating the incomes of various groups of the population, the working man who in the future will also be threatened by unemployment which he was convinced would never be a problem for him.

Under these conditions it is especially necessary to have powerful and unified trade unions within whose framework all healthy forces of the working people are concentrated in order to solve the most crucial problems. Pluralism of opinions and actions is no impediment to this. Organizations of workers, including informal groups, can and should reflect their various social, cultural, and ethnic interests. But all the experience of the history of the trade union movement—including the American one, incidentally—shows that a split of the trade unions at the national level leads to a weakening of the movement, to a release of positions, and to the victory of anti-labor forces. Who stands to gain from introducing chaos into the trade unions, artificially inciting strikes, promoting extreme manifestations of nationalism, and ascribing them to the worker movement?

There is no doubt that Soviet workers in any region of our homeland will find precise answers to these questions. This is what the striking miners did when heralds of "democratic" unions, leagues, and fronts tried to speculate on their feelings.

If one finds extremist forces for whom national or group egoism is not more important than nationwide interests, for whom the end justifies any means, one must be fully aware to whom he is beholden.

There is no doubt that the Soviet workers and the trade unions that have been renewed by them themselves, when going through the difficult stage of self-purification, will find and are finding understanding and support from foreign trade union organizations regardless of their ideological affiliation.

I should like to express the hope that in the United States they will understand the futility of attempts to destabilize the situation in our country during this very responsible period of restructuring. Those who will not understand must keep in mind that the detachment of 140 million Soviet trade union members will not look indifferently on the subversive activities of those who are trying to disguise it as aid for restructuring from abroad.

Dignitaries Attend Meeting for Rocket Forces Day

PM2111104789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by unnamed correspondent: "Ceremonial Meeting in Capital"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting of representatives of working people of the hero-city of Moscow and servicemen of the capital's garrison devoted to Rocket Forces and Artillery Day was held at the Soviet Army's Central Academy Theater 17 November. In the presidium of the meeting were L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow City CPSU Committee; Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense; O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; O.N. Shishkin, USSR minister of general machine building; A.N. Soshnikov, first deputy head of a CPSU Central Committee department; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political

Directorate; Army General Yu.P. Maksimov, commander in chief of Strategic Rocket Forces and USSR deputy defense minister; Army General V.M. Arkhipov and Colonel General Yu.A. Yashin, USSR deputy defense ministers; marshals of categories of troops, generals and officers, veterans of the USSR Armed Forces, defense industry workers, and designers.

The ceremonial meeting was opened by Colonel General V.S. Rodin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces Political Directorate. Warm words of greeting were addressed to the rocket and artillery men by V.D. Protasov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Colonel General V.Ya. Lebedev, retired; USSR People's Deputy Senior Lieutenant A.I. Uvarov, assistant chief of a large unit's political department for Lenin Communist Youth League work; and L.S. Tsibriy, a soldier's mother.

Army General Yu.P. Maksimov, commander in chief of Strategic Rocket Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, delivered the report. He pointed out that, loyal to the ideals of the October revolution and to glorious combat traditions, rocket and artillery men reliably stand guard over the motherland together with all servicemen of the Armed Forces.

A festive concert took place after the ceremonial meeting.

More on Usmanov Visit to Vladimir Ilich Plant

PM0711145989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report on G.I. Usmanov 2 November visit to Moscow's Vladimir Ilich Plant under general heading: "Encounters in Moscow's Labor Collectives"]

[Text] **The Future Is Born Today**

The history of Moscow's Vladimir Ilich Electromechanical Plant goes back almost 150 years. Today this enterprise produces output which plays an important role in the national economy. The Ilich Plant workers produce consumer goods worth almost R10 million.

At the same time the plant collective is going through a difficult period: Much equipment is obsolete, and the labor-intensiveness of production is growing. A comprehensive program for retooling the enterprise, including the construction of new blocks and the startup of the production, is designed to rectify matters.

G.I. Usmanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, familiarized himself with the state of affairs at the plant 2 November. He visited shops and laboratories and talked with workers and engineering and technical personnel.

It was pointed out in conversation with production workers that the time has come to put the modernization program into practice. Simultaneously with an increase in capacities there will also be a substantial change to the range of products produced. Series production of industrial lasers, complete controlled-velocity electric drives, and production lines with electron accelerators will be organized. Consumer goods have not been forgotten either—above all, washing machines.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the site where the enterprise's new blocks are being built. Despite the fact that they are being constructed not far from a residential area, its population need not be concerned: The plant is being modernized by creating ecologically clean production.

What is preventing the collective from making faster progress? In their replies to this question from the CPSU Central Committee secretary the production workers named, among other causes, deficiencies in the project's feasibility study, the suppliers' failure to meet their obligations, and increased spending on the production of certain types of output. All these circumstances are worsening the plant's financial position in conditions of work with full economic accountability. Mention was also made of difficulties connected with fulfillment of the state order.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary inquired about how the Ilich Plant workers are resolving the problem of cadres. The stakes are now on creating conditions under which people can reveal their abilities to the full. For this it is necessary to constantly retrain and instruct cadres.

Concern for the production workers' working and living conditions is one of the chief factors for a stable collective. It was pointed out with satisfaction that the enterprise's working people are regularly supplied with food orders, and a consumer center functions directly on the plant's territory. The plant workers have their own medical center, and a new young pioneer camp is under construction. But the housing problem remains urgent.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary had a meeting with the enterprise party aktiv during which G.I. Usmanov answered numerous questions from Communists.

Lukyanov Chairs Crime Fighting Meeting

LD1711220989 Moscow TASS in English 2150 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—Special task forces have been established in the Soviet Union to combat organised crime. Over the first six months of this year, they helped locate and render harmless some 500 gangs charged with more than 2,000 crimes.

This was announced today at a regular session of the provisional committee for combatting crime in the Soviet Union. The session was chaired by Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Speakers at the session, including Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court Yevgeniy Smolentsev, Minister of the Interior Vadim Bakatin, Procurator General Aleksandr

Sukharev and First Deputy Chairman of the State Security Committee (KGB) Filipp Bobkov, stressed the need to meticulously coordinate the activities of all law-enforcement bodies in combating this great social ill.

The session was told of the Soviet people's serious concern over the growth of organised crime in the country and its increasing professionalism.

This anxiety found its expression, among other things, in the inclusion of the item concerning combatting crime in the agenda of the Second Congress of People's Deputies scheduled for December this year.

Many grave crimes, speakers noted, are committed by well hushed up and technically equipped groups, often armed with weapons stolen from army units and other state institutions.

Cases have been reported of "mergers" incorporating criminals and officials. Various nationalistic and other extremist groupings are stepping up their activities that lead in some cases to mass unrest.

To ensure regular counteraction to organised crime in the Soviet Union, its law-enforcement bodies need objective information about the scale, social and economic causes and conditions of spreading crime, the session was told.

It is necessary to secure a reliable legal basis and establish order in the crime-prone areas of the economy, charter a system of measures to combat crime, using effective methods, procedures and special technical resources.

Soviet law-enforcement bodies were told to make extensive use of international experience in the field.

The resolution of the session stressed the need to expedite the fulfillment of a special programme to counteract organised crime. It approved recent documents calling for upgrading anticrime activity and securing law and order in the country. The committee decided to submit the documents for consideration by the Second Congress of People's Deputies.

Leningrad To Hold Meeting on Political Prisoners

90UN0251A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 89 p 2

[Unattributed article]

[Text] It seemed that they were just rumors. But all of a sudden there was a measure of truth in them!! People are saying that in the square in front of the V.I. Lenin Sports and Concert Complex there is to be a meeting on the topic of "Political Prisoners in the USSR."

A member of the editorial board of the Leningrad People's Front (LNF), P. Filippov, responds:

"Yes, such a meeting will take place on 30 October (beginning at 1800 hours) at the sports and concert complex. It is being organized by the Memorial Society, the LNF, and the Peace Watch. Permission to hold it has been obtained."

Nobody intends to dwell on details here. The most serious kind of discussion is planned. It is necessary to discuss measures that must be undertaken so that the state will never again be able to unleash terror against its own people. There are also other questions: What must be done in order for the power actually to be turned over to the democratically elected soviets; how does one achieve radical political and economic reforms?... One of the main speakers is USSR People's Deputy Nikolay Veniaminovich Ivanov.

Leningrad Informals Hold Remembrance Day

90UN0273A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 89 p 4

[Article by A. Ozhegov: "Speeches Without Remembrance"]

[Text] With the inexorable passage of time one event replaces another. Everything comes to pass in our fleeting life. But memory is not governed by time. It seems to bring together people of different views and convictions when they address the past of our country and remember the victims of Stalin's repressions.

I am sure that to remember those innocent dead and to pay to them one's civic duty was exactly the purpose of the majority of about 1,500 citizens of Leningrad who gathered at the officially permitted meeting. The meeting took place at the Sports and Performing Arts Center imeni V.I. Lenin. One woman with a burning candle in her hands whose husband perished in Karlag [Karaganda Corrective Labor Camp] called this occasion a "sacred night." Unfortunately, even this evening could not pass without some attempts to stir up hatred among those present toward our political system and socialism, to sow animosity between different generations of one's compatriots.

From the improvised granite podium adorned with high reliefs depicting various themes of "muses of sports and arts," speakers declared that "all of us are political prisoners in our country," and put all of their energy into discrediting perestroyka and its radical democratic reforms. Those reforms have been widely reconized in the West, to which the speakers turned so often to draw their comparison of standards of life and democracy "here and abroad."

One after another they came to the microphone: Representatives of "Memorial" and "Peace Watch" societies, of the "Democratic Union," of anarcho-syndicalists and other politicized groups and unions. They all addressed the gathering as "Dear people of Petersburg!", "Ladies and gentlemen!" In spite of myself I kept turning around, but somehow I did not notice any men or women who looked as if they belonged in the beginning of the 20th century or in the ruling class. Instead there was quite a

sufficient number of present day petty retail traders. They offered a wide choice of samizdat publications from the minutes of the Leningrad conference of democratic movements and organizations, priced at three rubles, to newsletters of various groups, priced from 50 kopecks to one ruble. I felt ill at ease having to witness that petty trade on a remembrance day.

Another thing that made me wonder was the unexpected alliance of the informal societies and organizations which until then used to indulge in caustic arguments. It is true that representatives of the People's Front Yu. M. Nesterov and P.S. Filippov publicly spoke about differences with their ideological opponents and declared their disagreement with much of "what has been said from this podium." But the fact remains: The Leningrad People's Front appeared as an organizer of the meeting together with the "Democratic Union" and anarcho-syndicalists. They also conducted the meeting together, changing only the moderators.

Some of the speakers who included "former political prisoners" tried in vain to remind the organizers and the public about the remembrance day. The podium was still used for other kinds of speeches, speeches that unfortunately were new neither in form nor in substance. Representatives of the "Democratic Union" and "independent trade unions", of various "independent" [rendered in Ukrainian] groups, big or small, tried to prove that "socialism cannot do without violence", that "the red terror is still active today." One could barely distinguish in those "allied" monologues a call to public reconciliation, to consolidation of democratic forces in their fight for perestroyka; a call to never again allow in our country black days and nights, years of political repressions and persecution for thinking differently....

Medic Says AIDS Spread Figures Unknown

LD2111111189 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Soviet medics have come to the conclusion that the true dimensions of the spread of AIDS in the country remain unknown. According to official data 12 people suffering from AIDS and 338 carriers of its virus have been registered in the USSR. However, experts believe that their real number might be far greater. So far slightly more than 10 percent of the population have been tested for AIDS. In the meantime, every virus carrier might generate a chain of victims. Medics think that an outbreak of the 20th century plague in the country might occur in the mid-90s. In view of this, Soviet authorities are taking special preventive care measures to combat AIDS.

Health Commission Investigates Alopecia

90UN0224A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Oct 89 p 4

[V. Pelekh report: "A USSR Ministry of Health Commission in Chernovtsy"]

[Text] Chernovtsy Oblast—A USSR Ministry of Health commission has started its work in Chernovtsy. Experienced experts are again seeing and conducting additional investigations on patients suffering from alopecia.

This insidious disease, which broke here in the summer of last year, has affected about 300 children, causing total temporary baldness. And even though the last case of total hair loss was recorded a year ago, and after rehabilitation treatment most patients have returned to a normal life, the fear and alarm about the disease have not died down. Moreover, up to now no accurate diagnosis has been established and the source of the infection has not been found. In some children who suffered from the disease disorders of particular body functions have also been noticed, and there have been more frequent cases of spot hair loss in both children and adults. Some 25 to 30 inhabitants of the city and oblast seek medical help for this each month.

"The task for our specialists is to make as accurate a determination as possible of the state of health of people stricken with various forms of alopecia," says commission leader, USSR deputy minister of health A.A. Baranov. "On the basis of the data obtained we must take additional steps aimed at preventing the disease and providing comprehensive help for patients."

Economic

Abalkin Views 'Emergency Measures' on Economy

LD2011151389 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—By TASS Economic Analyst Boris Grishchenko:

In a bid to improve the situation on the domestic market the Soviet government has suggested introducing a rigid state order for the production of basic necessities and establishing a state system of price control.

Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin, commenting on the government's proposals submitted to parliament today, described the package as emergency measures.

They envisage a temporary reinstatement of several noneconomic measures.

These are a rigid state order for the production of several foodstuffs and basic necessities, especially inexpensive items for pensioners and children.

Enterprises stopped producing most of these items over the past two or three years, regarding them as unprofitable. Their production will now bring profit thanks to state subsidies and priority in the supply of raw materials. The latter is especially important in view of current difficulties on the country's raw material market.

The government suggests introducing tougher restrictions on the export of goods that are scarce at home.

Strict quotas will be imposed next year on fish and marine products, fur and some electric appliances.

The opportunity to sell these products for hard currency, widely used by Soviet enterprises this year, has resulted in a substantial expansion of the list of goods in short supply in the country.

The government does not advocate further price rises. It puts forward a programme to create a system of price control at the state level.

This means, specifically, greater control over the economic activity of enterprises and a more realistic assessment of the quality of new commodities and their correspondence to the demand and buying power of the mass consumer.

Imports Backlog Cleared From Ports by 1 Nov

PM0311140989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[S. Taranov report under rubric "From Competent Sources": "Ten Days That Shook Ports and Railroad Stations"]

[Text] A joint sitting of the USSR Ministry of Railways and USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet Collegiums was held 1 November to discuss the problem of dispatching imported goods from ports.

Let us recall what this is all about. Consumer goods and foodstuffs worth R10 billion were urgently purchased abroad by decision of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Deliveries to our country began by mid-September. But the transportation workers proved unprepared to receive the above-plan "avalanche" of millions of tonnes of sugar, rice, wheat, tea, and coffee and tens of thousands of containers of clothing, footwear, and textiles. Instead of being dispatched straight to the store shelves, the imported goods spent weeks and even months in port warehouses and even in the ships' cargo holds.

On 20 October the government set the Ministry of Railways and the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet the task of shipping out all the imported goods.

The transportation emergency, unprecedented in the last few years, lasted 10 days and nights. At the most critical moments, when all means of influence seemed to have been exhausted, Minister of Railways N. Konarev would begin his telephone conferences with the call: "Comrades, I appeal to your civic awareness, party-mindedness, and humaneness...."

The above-normative stocks of imported goods were shipped out of ports and border railroad stations by 1 November, and N. Konarev informed the USSR Supreme Soviet session accordingly. The crisis was over, but....

As of 1 November, it was said at the collegiums' sitting, the port of Leningrad still held 170,000 tonnes of imported goods—grain, sugar, pipes, and containers of clothing and detergents. The Leningrad transportation junction was the only one which did not meet the government's targets. This was due to the disorganization and complacency displayed by October Railroad Chief A. Zaytsev and Baltic Shipping Line Chief V. Kharchenko—this was the conclusion drawn by members of the collegiums following a 4-hour investigation.

Kharchenko was reprimanded; bearing in mind the that Zaytsev's first deputy was severely punished and he himself was reprimanded a week ago (again for having failed to provide railroad cars for the imported goods), he was given a strict warning. Specific measures were planned to ship the goods out of the port. But are there any guarantees that the crisis will not recur? What conclusions have been drawn by the leaders of the two transportation departments?

USSR Minister of Railways N. Konarev:

Railroad workers have many problems. I could mention shortfalls in deliveries of new cars from industrial enterprises or the lamentable condition of the rolling stock now being used. There is also a shortage of loading and unloading equipment, which has to be bought with foreign currency. For certain well known reasons, tens of thousands of cars were blockaded in the Transcaucasus and Moldavia, and this certainly had its effect on the situation in ports. But here is a typical aspect. You start investigating why imported goods were not shipped out in specific cases, and it transpires that the problem has absolutely nothing to do with objective circumstances.

Railroad leaders failed to get their act together in time and, by force of habit, released cars to the ports on the basis of the remainder principle. One disruption led to another.... When the freight avalanche descended upon them, the situation ran out of control. There was a lack of responsibility, of awareness of the present meaning of additional goods for our meager consumer market.

We have the potential to transport the imported goods.

USSR Minister of the Maritime Fleet Yu. Volmer:

The planning of freight transportation is the most acute question, the dividing line between our departments. Today we reached the unanimous conclusion that all imported goods must be shipped out on a priority basis. We will also review freight transportation regulations, many of which date back to the late fifties. We need much more precise collaboration with other ministries and departments. Why, for example, should the trade network organization not ship out its freight on days off or at night? How come that, at the "peak" period of shipping our own potato harvest, we were urgently purchasing potatoes in the GDR and Poland and sending thousands of cars there, with the result that our own potatoes rotted in the fields? Could all this not have been better planned? Ministry of Railways representatives

spoke of this and much else besides. I can confirm that such unjustified losses are by no means a rare occurrence. There must be responsibility and competence at all levels.

Safety of BAM Railroad Section Questioned

PM0611095589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 89 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Medvedev, Baykal Amur Railroad (BAM) Zone own correspondent, under rubric "Own Correspondent's Column": "We Guarantee... an Accident"]

[Text] "Soon we will be reading in the newspapers that on this very spot the permanent way has subsided, and that 5km further on a train came off the rails."

Valeriy Zalutskiy threw the cigarette butt out of the car window and became immersed in thought. The smoldering cigarette fell on the prepared bed where the lattice of rails and sleepers came to an abrupt end. Five kilometers of rails were yet to be laid, and 10 km to be filled with ballast. In 2 months' time trains are supposed to be running here.

The commissioning of the Severomuyskiy range bypass is scheduled for the end of October. A simple calculation reveals the unrealistic nature of this deadline. Approximately 40 more "whirligigs" (this is what they call the trucks which bring in the ballast with which to fill the permanent way) are needed, and they are arriving at the rate of one a week. The quarries are far away.

"For the bed to reach the same density as natural ground," explains N. Donetskiy, chief engineer of the SMP-597 construction and installation train, "it is not enough to compress the ground with heavy machinery. There must also be natural subsidence—after rain and the passage of heavy rolling stock. In accordance with the normatives at least 2 years are needed for this. If I were in the railroad workers' place, I would not accept this section."

The mountain-range bypass is to provide an alternate route to the Severomuyskiy tunnel, which will not be ready before 1992. The project, costing R300 million, was started in a hurry 2 and ½ years ago. From the outset, work procedure was far from normal. It bordered on the ridiculous: First the contact system supports were erected and then the rails were laid alongside. "Two supports even had to be dismantled again in the process," railroad installation worker Sergey Nedorezov recalls, "things of this kind happened...."

The situation at Taksimo is even more critical. The school and housing had to be handed over before any of the boilers in the new boiler house had been tested. Even now it is not certain when they will supply heat. And That is when it usually starts snowing here at the beginning of October.

I was able to talk to many people on the section from Severomuysk to Kuanda. None of them had any doubts on three points. First, by 1 November the railroad will be quite unfit for permanent operations and especially for the passage of three pairs of passenger trains per 24 hours. Second, the acceptance document will nonetheless be signed by the set deadline. The polemic, which has gone on for years, as to whether the BAM is necessary or not has come to an abrupt end with the argument that it is absolutely indispensable, if for no other reason than to take pressure off the Transsiberian Railroad. This coincides with the desire of the railroad administration to start making money as soon as possible. Therefore "allowances" will be made during the acceptance process—people will turn a blind eye even in the case of obvious defects.

Third and last, everyone is convinced that punishment will be apportioned to anyone but the chairmen of the state commissions. Lower-ranking officials will be found. The self-same chief engineer of SMP-597, for instance—to make sure he doesn't talk to correspondents too much.

In the history of the BAM there are few dates which can rival fall 1989 in their significance. After all, the point of departure is the year 1889, when Colonel A. Voloshinov of the Russian General Staff got together an expedition and explored the Muya River valley. Subsequently he reported: "...The construction of a line along this route is absolutely impossible, if only because of the technical difficulties...."

Now, 100 years later, when most of the technical difficulties have been surmounted, S. Ishutin, chairman of the state commission for the section from Angarakan to Taksimo and deputy chief of BAM, has been forced to admit: Defeats are in store for us on the bypass.

Everyone understands that, together with the railroad, foundations are being laid for an accident, but no one is doing anything about it. Have we learned nothing from the recent railroad accidents? Or is it because we have crossed the pain threshold and no longer feel anything? We are waiting calmly for an accident to happen.

Why? Especially in view of the fact that passenger trains from Berkakit to Moscow, Komsomolsk to Krasnoyarsk, and Tynda to Severobaykalsk will be running here? Why, if construction workers have proposed that the section be handed over to them for temporary service for 2-3 years. They have experience in operating on even steeper slopes. People in Tynda probably still remember how long it took two departments to negotiate tariffs before the first coal train could transit the pass. Might history not repeat itself on this occasion people from two allied ministries ask mistrustfully?

"Despite everything, the commissioning will take place," Stepan Koval, railroad installation worker said as we were taking leave of Malov's team, "on paper it will take place."

Who will deny his prediction?

And who will take the blame if his prediction comes true?

Electricity Official on Winter Energy Situation

PM1511093189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with A. Bondarenko, chief dispatcher of the USSR Unified Power System Central Dispatch Administration, by A. Blokhin: "Electricity Against the Cold"—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] The main weapon against the cold is a reliable power industry. A. Bondarenko, chief dispatcher of the USSR Unified Power System Central Dispatch Administration, expresses his views on this subject.

[Bondarenko] The fall-winter maximum load balance—this is a power industry workers' concept. In terms of the upcoming winter, this balance looks very tight. Depending on meteorological conditions, the capacity shortfall may fluctuate between 6 and 10 million kilowatts.

[Blokhin] People found it difficult to understand the shortages of soap, washing powder, and many other goods. Could the root causes of the "electricity deficit" be the same?

[Bondarenko] Up to a point, yes. In our sector the shortages came about as a result of a chronic lag (during the past 2-3 5-year plans) in the commissioning of new power stations and power units. This process is very deep-rooted and in my opinion there is little cause to expect a noticeable improvement in the situation within the next 2-3 years.

[Blokhin] What about fuel? Do the power workers have sufficient supplies, or have the consequences of the miners' strikes affected them negatively?

[Bondarenko] Fuel oil capacities are full at all power stations. As for coal, there is somewhat less of it at state regional electric power stations [GRES] and heat and electric power stations [TETS] depots, but this is not causing special concern. As for the miners' strikes, if they continue the situation could deteriorate and power stations could come to a standstill.

A few words about the hydroelectric power industry. There is considerably less "blue fuel" in hydroelectric power station [GES] reservoirs than is needed. Central Asian republics are worst affected. The cold summer in the mountains delayed the thawing of glaciers and a lot of water was needed for irrigation. As a result the water level in the Nurek hydroelectric basin is 27 meters below the required mark, and in the Toktogul water reservoir it is 17.5 meters lower.

[Blokhin] Perhaps some new power units are to be commissioned at the end of the year which will help to rectify the situation?

[Bondarenko] During the winter the No. 3 power unit at the Smolensk AES (1 million kW) and an 800,000 kW unit at Perm GRES are to go into operation. Two 300,000 kW units are also to be commissioned at the Azerbaijan and Tbilisi thermal power stations. However, judging by the progress of work, all these new projects will get up to speed only by the spring.

[Blokhin] What is being done to prevent an increase in the "electricity deficit"?

[Bondarenko] At all oblast soviet and kray soviet executive committees commissions have been set up which are trying to find ways of reducing power consumption. It is necessary to resort to staggering the beginning and end of working shifts; as far as possible equipment which uses a lot of power will be disconnected for repairs during the winter; and in some republics and oblasts it will even be necessary to shift the weekend to week days.

There is one more considerable reserve which we usually remember only as a last resort—rational, thrifty use of electricity and the more active introduction of energy-saving technologies. We must all espouse this idea because no one will resolve these problems for us.

Value of Imported Equipment Stocks Reported

904A0044a Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 43, 25 Oct 89 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Figures for Thought: Currency in Stocks"]

[Text] In justifying its lag, every sector and almost every enterprise complains about not having enough currency!....

Not enough? The latest figures from the USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] make one believe that many ministries and departments simply do not know how to spend it.

As it follows from recently published data, almost half a billion rubles worth—445.4 million—of imported complete sets of equipment is piled up in warehouses. There is another R442.6 million worth of equipment for light industry, and almost R300 million worth of automatic and semiautomatic lines for machine building....

But maybe these are machine tools, lines, and equipment that have just come off the train and are resting after a long trip? No, the many crates with foreign lettering caught their breath long ago and have been cluttering up the warehouses for years. Some 18 percent of all imported stocks of possibly already outdated equipment for the chemical and forestry complex and almost 7 percent of all import orders for the agroindustrial complex have been waiting for their moment for more than 6 years. Is it not because equipment costing millions in

currency rubles is "cooling off" in warehouses that our agroindustrial complex is not fully in order?

Gosbank Official Discusses New Ruble Rate

904A0044b Moscow TRUD in Russian
27 Oct 89 p 1

[Interview with V.A. Pekshev, deputy chairman of board of USSR Gosbank, by V. Golovachev: "Currency Exchange: New Rules"]

[Text] **The USSR Gosbank transmitted the following report:**

In accordance with the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers, on 1 November 1989 a special reduced ruble rate of exchange for freely convertible currencies will be introduced for currency servicing of Soviet and foreign citizens, based on the base rate of 6 rubles 26 kopecks for $1.

The special rate will be used by banking institutions in the USSR when selling freely convertible currencies and funds in these currencies to citizens traveling abroad on personal business (visiting relatives, tourism, and so forth) and when buying such currency and funds, including transactions for payment of rubles from currency accounts of Soviet citizens, and also when selling freely convertible currencies and funds in these currencies to state, cooperative, certain public, and other enterprises for purposes associated with travel of their workers abroad on official business.

The special ruble exchange rate for freely convertible currencies will be published monthly along with the official exchange rate of the USSR Gosbank in the newspaper IZVESTIYA on the eve of the effective date of the rate.

We asked V.A. Pekshev, deputy chairman of the board of the USSR Gosbank, to comment on this report.

[Golovachev] First of all, what brought about the decision to reduce the ruble exchange rate for freely convertible currencies for non-trade transactions? Was it the fact that on our "black market" the dollar has for a long time been selling for more than 63 kopecks? As we well know, conditions now are such that dealers in the shadow economy buy up dollars from foreigners for 10-12 rubles and then resell them for 15 rubles....

[Pekshev] To some extent, you yourself answered the question. Indeed, the "black market" is engaged in speculative currency machinations. Many business people arriving from abroad are unpleasantly surprised by the obtrusive attack by our "speculators in foreign currency" who propose illegal deals. Although, it must be said, some of the foreigners go for this, receiving almost 20 times as many rubles than at the official exchange rate at the bank.

[Golovachev] Does this mean that the disparity is such that the dollar is actually worth 10-15 rubles?

[Pekshev] I would not approach it in such an oversimplified way. The ratios that have been established on the "black market" cannot be considered the absolute truth. Everything is much more complicated. Take food products in our country and in developed states. A kilogram of white bread, say, costs an average of $4.13 in Finland in August. We have various grades. For example, a kilogram of white bread sells for 24 kopecks, or 17 times less, if you correlate it with $4.13. Or, take a phonograph record for $14; ours is much cheaper. Not to mention the prices for housing (a cooperative flat in our country is 15 to 20 times cheaper). But a tape recorder costs 12-15 or more times less abroad than it does here. The difference in prices for computers is even more severe.... Therefore, it is not as simple as it seems to draw some single general ratio.

[Golovachev] However, there already is a precise figure—the base rate of exchange for non-trade transactions is set at 6 rubles 26 kopecks for $1....

[Pekshev] Yes, we arrived at that for the time being. Although this rate will be "floating" and will change depending on the rate of exchange of freely convertible currencies and perhaps other factors, too.

[Golovachev] Will the changes be significant?

[Pekshev] Not very, I don't think. Most likely, the changes will be measured in kopecks, not rubles.

[Golovachev] Nevertheless, the new rate is still quite far from the "rates" of the "black market"....

[Pekshev] Let's keep in mind that the "shadow market" is illegal. A self-respecting foreigner will hesitate whether to associate with speculators in foreign currency and risk his reputation or go to a bank and legally receive a decent sum for his currency.

[Golovachev] You continually emphasize that this involves non-trade transactions. Does the previous rate remain in effect in our normal trade?

[Pekshev] Yes. Precisely for those reasons I stated above.

[Golovachev] Can any citizen in our country receive convertible currency?

[Pekshev] For now, only those who are traveling abroad by invitation, going on group tours, and so forth.

[Golovachev] What if someone wants to go abroad, say, on days off by himself without a tour group or invitation?

[Pekshev] This is a question for the future. For now, we must go through the first stage. As you know, we don't have very much currency for these purposes.

[Golovachev] What about in the future? What is your personal opinion?

[Pekshev] I believe that when all is said and done, this is how it will be: If you want to take a trip on Saturday and

Sunday, say, to Stockholm, this pleasure is very expensive of course, but if you have the money, you buy the currency and your ticket, make hotel reservations....

[Golovachev] Far from everyone will be able to afford this. Won't the result of this be that the underground millionaires will begin living even more luxuriously and more free and easy, making journeys abroad? Won't the new procedures intensify the stratification of society into the rich and poor, those having the opportunity to taste the "sweet" life and those who have seen foreign cities only in pictures?

[Pekshev] The smart operators you speak of already have considerable opportunities today to travel abroad, for example, by invitation. We sold them $318 for 200 rubles, which they then turned into 4,000-5,000 rubles. So, if the state charges them 2,000 instead of 200 rubles, it will just be fair.

As far as people not having high incomes are concerned, they still have the opportunity to go on tour groups, which is much cheaper than individual tourism. Or, say, a trade union or enterprise pays part of the cost of the trip. However, this is not a matter for the Gosbank.

[Golovachev] One last question. What will our country gain or lose as a result of the new rules being introduced? After all, we now will have to pay foreigners 10 times more for the dollars being exchanged. How much will this be per year?

[Pekshev] We don't have precise figures. I believe that reducing the ruble rate in non-trade transactions will provide a greater influx of currency, which will go to the banks, not to the "black market." As a result, the economy will certainly gain, and it will make it possible to better balance the domestic consumer market.

RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Local Self-Financing

904A0044C Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[Decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 27 October 1989: "On the Course of Work for Converting the Republics, Krays, Oblasts and the RSFSR to the Principles of Self-Management and Self-Financing"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic notes that the RSFSR Council of Ministers, the councils of ministers of the autonomous republics, and local soviet and economic bodies are accomplishing preparations to restructure the management of the economy and social sphere of the Russian Federation and its regions based on self-management and self-financing. Active work is being carried out in more than 30 autonomous krays and oblasts for conversion to these principles.

Republic economic bodies, scientific research institutes of regional departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and other scientific institutions are providing considerable assistance in organizational and methods support, in drawing up normative documentation, and in working out the basic elements of financial and credit relations.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers considered and approved the proposals of the Tatar ASSR Council of Ministers and of the Kemerovo, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, and Vologda oblispolkoms on experimenting with the economic management mechanism on principles of self-management and self-financing in the corresponding territories.

For the purpose of expanding the economic independence, increasing the responsibility of autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts of the Russian Federation for comprehensive development of the economy of the regions, intensifying cost-accounting relations in the basic element, and consistent implementation of self-management and self-financing, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic decrees:

1. The Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the RSFSR Council of Ministers, the supreme soviets of the autonomous republics, and kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies are to step up work on preparing to switch the corresponding territories to principles of self-management and self-financing so as to ensure in the near future the revival of the soviets of people's deputies as the main element of self-management of the people, the expansion of the powers of soviet bodies in the localities based on giving them additional functions and rights, and resolution of urgent problems of social and economic development.

This work is to be based on the need for:

—Ensuring unity of the country's national economic complex, of which the economy of the RSFSR is an organic part, and increasing the contribution of each region to strengthening the republic's economic potential;

—intensifying the social orientation of the economy by forming stable sources of financing on the territories and interaction of enterprises and organizations, regardless of their departmental subordination, with strict observance of USSR laws on state enterprise (association) and on cooperatives in the USSR;

—independent earning of funds for economic and social development of autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts and consideration of their contribution to the national income of the RSFSR and factors resulting from the economic peculiarities of the territories;

—efficient organization on a normative basis of the system of economic relations between the councils of people's deputies and enterprises and organizations;

—improving the general plan of managing the economy of the RSFSR and completing work on forming a republic national economic complex and local economy;

—increasing the effectiveness of social production and expanding economic independence and responsibility of regions and also enterprises and organizations in conditions of forming a socialist market.

2. The RSFSR Council of Ministers, the ministries and departments of the RSFSR, the councils of ministers of autonomous republics, and the executive committees of kray, oblast, and the Moscow and Leningrad city soviets of people's deputies, based on a comprehensive analysis of the economic and social development of the territories being switched to working under conditions of economic independence in 1990, are to perform the necessary work for preparing all regions of the republic and the RSFSR as a whole for the switch in the 13th Five-Year Plan.

Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet V. Vorotnikov

Secretary of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet S. Chistoplyasov

Moscow, The Kremlin, 27 October 1989

Scientific

'Mir' Cosmonauts Complete Series of Experiments

LD2111120289 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent: Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov continue their space mission.

The crew of the Mir space complex have completed another series of experiments, the aim of which was to explore the structure of the Earth's atmosphere and determine its optical characteristics.

On instructions from specialists who take part in the work on the UNESCO international programme "Man and Biosphere", the cosmonauts carried out several series of observations and photographed biospheric preserves in various parts of the world.

Under a plan of preventive maintenance, the crew replaced a purification unit in the system of water regeneration from atmospheric moisture.

The cosmonauts are today placing used equipment in the ferry "Progress M". They also plan to fulfil astrophysical experiments with the magnetic spectrometer "Maria".

During the day the station's propulsion engine will be refuelled with an oxidiser on orders from the Mission Control Centre.

Work at the station proceeds according to schedule. The cosmonauts feel well.

TV Relay Station Begins Operation in Kazakhstan

LD0711121589 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 0200 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Summary] A relay station has gone into service in Chiiliyskiy Rayon, Kzyl-Orda Oblast, enabling inhabitants to receive Central Television's first and second programs in color. This station has been completed ahead of scheduale. Similar equipment is now being assembled in Aral town and it will become operational by the end of this year.

At present, there are 13 Moskva and satellite relay stations in the oblast which receive republican and central television programs with better reception.

Correction to Launching of 'Cosmos-2049' 17 Nov

LD2011153189 Moscow TASS in English 1456 GMT 20 Nov 89

The following correction pertains to the item entitled "'Cosmos-2049 Launched Into Orbit" published on page 99 of the 20 November DAILY REPORT:

Page 99, column on , paragraph four, only sentence should read: ...maximum distance from the earth's surface—292 kilometers;... (changing number from 242 to 292).

Military

Yazov on Draft Shortfall, Alternate Service

PM2011225789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 89 p 1

[Interview with Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, by K. Belyaninov: "Three Minutes During the Recess"; interview is part of feature on the All-Union Student Forum; date unspecified]

[Text] [Yazov] A difficult situation has come about in the Army following the discharge of students from the ranks of the Armed Forces. Shortly before the forum began, a group of USSR people's deputies visited certain units. Soldiers went up to them and asked: "You voted to discharge the students. Does that mean that a Red Army of workers and peasants will be left? That those who couldn't get into higher education will be left to do their service? After all, nobody's removed the phrase in the Constitution about military service being an honorable duty for all Soviet citizens." That is why we believe that each student should study military matters. There are many aspects to this, of course: Some go to institutes straight after the Army, others straight from school. Clearly, we need to find some kind of solution to this problem. Many solutions have been proposed, but the conclusion is the same: All students should study military matters only in relation to the specialism which they would like to assimilate and which accords with the profession they are learning at their higher educational establishment.

We now have close contacts with the State Committee for Public Education and the Academy of Sciences, and they are suggesting some solutions to which we can agree. If it is a question of military faculties, then in a city like Tomsk, for instance, a citywide faculty could be set up to "service" all the city's educational establishments. But, however serious these changes may be, I reiterate that everybody should study military matters.

I know that there will be no war today or tomorrow, but if we fail to keep the peace, it will largely be due to our having inadequately trained the people.

[Belyaninov] There is an extensive discussion currently under way in secondary specialized educational establishments on granting draft deferments to technical college students, too....

[Yazov] That's completely unrealistic. You must realize that we have nobody to draft into the Army—we're facing the fourth successive demographic decline. Put simply, the children of those children who weren't born during the war haven't been born. As a result, we are drafting into the Army just 40 percent of the total draft contingent—and in Moscow the figure is even smaller, at 32 percent!

[Belyaninov] The USSR State Committee for Public Education has permitted rectors to pay students studying at military faculties additional sums on top of their grants. Could the Defense Ministry assume this expenditure—after all, the faculties are training officers for the Army?

[Yazov] In general our ministry can assume any obligation. But we get our money from the country's budget. This year our budget has been set at R80.6 billion. This sum includes all expenditure—upkeep of personnel, maintenance of equipment, and spending on research and development. If we shoulder additional costs we will need special funds from the state budget. I am not sure that people would welcome an increase in military spending.

[Belyaninov] People have long talked about the need to set up a volunteer army in our country, and at one of the forum's discussion centers this idea was virtually included in a resolution. What do you think—is this realistic nowadays?

[Yazov] Let's first clarify how much money would be needed to attract soldiers to serve voluntarily. At least R350 a month, right? But that R350 would be for Moscow. What about Novaya Zemlya...? Not so long ago we wanted to propose that the pay of sergeants and petty officers be increased at least to R30. But to do this would have taken R3.5 billion. Given the prevailing situation with the country's economy we simply cannot afford a volunteer army. Then, what is a volunteer army? The core [obyazatelnyy] personnel—the backbone—are professionals, our pilots are all officers, and our submariners who do the main jobs on nuclear submarines are officers. So who are we going to hire—orderlies?

[Belyaninov] Not so long ago the Supreme Soviet discussed the question of alternate service. This is being called for by draftees who, for religious or other reasons, cannot take up arms. What's your attitude to that proposal?

[Yazov] The word "alternate" has gotten so fashionable nowadays that it's even being applied to Army service. I don't know what you have in mind. One deputy said that being a male nurse would be an alternate form of service. But how many nurses do we really need? Or suppose someone doesn't want to serve for pacifist or religious reasons. This year, for instance, 300 Baptists refused to take the oath. But we'll dismantle society by doing that! Who'd want to run across the sands of Turkestan in kersey boots when they could be strolling down Kalinin Prospekt in soft shoes? But if alternate service means serving without weapons in construction detachments, for instance, it probably could be acceptable. But I envision no other kind of alternate service.

[Belyaninov] During the preparations for the forum we received many letters from military college students....

[Yazov] It seems to me that a forum for such students would not be out of place either. It would help us to find out how well the teaching is being carried out and whether the students are interested or not in studying certain subjects. But this matter has not been decided yet. We are currently planning an Armed Forces-wide meeting of officers, to which students will perhaps be invited....

Aircraft Carrier 'Tbilisi' Receives First Flights

LD2211110389 Moscow TASS in English 0746 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozmin:

Slightly remodelled land-based Soviet Aircraft SU-27, MIG-29 and SU-25UT have made their first landings and take-offs from the Tbilisi aircraft carrier.

The Tbilisi was recently launched and is now going through its sea trials.

Hero of the Soviet Union Viktor Pugachev, a test pilot from the Sukhoy designer bureau, was the first to land his SU-27 aircraft on the Tbilisi.

"The aircraft carrying heavy cruiser Tbilisi, just like her predecessors, warships of the Kiev class, are designed for defensive purposes," Sukhoy chief designer Mikhail Simonov told TASS.

"This is proved by the fact that it carries fighter planes and not special multi-purpose naval aircraft like on American aircraft carriers. The new carrier is designed to protect Soviet sea borders," he said.

The first Soviet helicopter carriers Leningrad and Moscow geared specifically for anti-submarine warfare were launched in 1967 and 1969.

Late in 1972 the vertical take-off aircraft YAK-38 made the first landing on the Moscow.

The first aircraft carrier, the Kiev, which carried YAKS-38 was built in 1975. The Tbilisi is about 300 meters long and more than 70 meters wide and has a flight deck which can be used both by conventional and vertical take-off aircraft. The carrier will accommodate about 60 combat planes and helicopters.

The Tbilisi will not carry nuclear weapons. Her 200,000 horsepower engine ensures a top speed of 30 knots per hour.

Yazov Order for Rocket Forces, Artillery Day

PM2111114589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

["USSR Defense Minister Order of the Day No. 434" issued in Moscow and dated 19 November 1989]

[Text] Comrade soldiers and sailors, sergeants and petty officers!

Comrade ensigns and warrant officers!

Comrade officers, generals, and admirals!

Comrade veterans of the Rocket Forces and Artillery!

Comrade designers and working people of the defense industry!

Today our country and its Armed Forces are celebrating Rocket Forces and Artillery Day.

Our motherland's working people and Army and Navy servicemen are greeting this festival in an atmosphere of profound transformations in all spheres of the life of Soviet society and active preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress which the party and the people have developed everywhere.

As a result of the new political thinking, the improving international situation, and the growing trends toward detente and disarmament, a substantial reduction of the USSR Armed Forces and of defense appropriations is taking place. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles is being implemented.

At the same time the process of easing tension has not yet become irreversible, and long-term guarantees of the stability of the military-political situation in the world have not taken shape—it remains complex and contradictory. The danger of war is still a reality of our time. This obliges us to strengthen defense and to ensure the reliable security of the USSR and its allies.

Rocket and artillery men are making a worthy contribution to the cause of defending the Soviet people's creative labor together with the servicemen of other branches and categories of troops of the USSR Armed Forces. True to glorious combat traditions, Rocket Forces and Artillery personnel are persistently improving their combat skill, enhancing combat readiness on the basis of primarily qualitative parameters, and honorably fulfilling their patriotic and international duty in single combat formation with the servicemen of the Warsaw Pact states' armies.

I greet and congratulate you on the festival—Rocket Forces and Artillery Day!

I wish the Rocket Forces and Artillery personnel new successes in military labor, in enhancing their ideological training, and in resolving the practical tasks set at the session of the Main Military Council under the USSR Defense Council of building up perestroyka and strengthening military discipline, organization, and order.

I wish defense industry workers new achievements in enhancing the quality of the armament and military hardware being created in the name of strengthening the country's defense capability.

I wish Rocket Forces and Artillery veterans good health and successes in work on the military-patriotic education of young people in the spirit of loyalty to military and civic duty.

To mark Rocket Forces and Artillery Day I ORDER:

That a festive firework display be held today, 19 November 1989, at 2100 hours local time in the hero-city of Moscow, the capital of our motherland, in the capitals of the union republics, in the hero-cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, and Murmansk, and in the hero-fortress of Brest.

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

Maksimov Speech on Missile Troops Day

LD1911150889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1115 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Speech by Army General Yuriy Pavlovich Maksimov, USSR deputy defense minister, commander in chief of the Strategic Missile Troops, and Hero of the Soviet Union, to commemorate Missile Troops and Artillery Day on 19 November—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, the Soviet people and its armed services are marking today one of our fatherland's glorious and memorable festivals—Missile Troops and Artillery Day. The origins of this festival go back to the stern years of the Great Patriotic War and to the historic battle on the Volga in the fall of 1942. In that mighty battle which led to the routing of a large-scale German

fascist strike group and which was the start of a fundamental breakthrough in World War II, a special role fell to the lot of the artillery, which was affectionately known at the time as the God of War.

There are dates and events in the history of every state for which the people's rememberance preserves respect as exploits carried out for the sake of the fatherland. One such nationwide exploit was the creation of the Strategic Missile Troops, the 30th anniversary of which falls in December this year.

The Rocket Troops were tasked with a difficult and very responsible mission in preserving peace on earth. It is well known that back in August 1945 the United States, which had become the monopoly possessor of atomic weapons, used them against Hiroshima and Nagasaki, without any particular military necessity. Trusting in total impunity for the United States, immediately after the end of the war the U.S. military set about drawing up plans for a sudden nuclear attack on our country, initially envisaging the atomic bombardment of 20, and later 100 Soviet cities. Specific dates were even outlined for the start of the aggression—at first before 1 April 1949, and then under Plan Dropshot, 1 January 1957. A real threat of nuclear destruction hung over our country at that time. We were forced therefore to take urgent counter measures, although this had to be accomplished in the incredibly difficult conditions of the postwar years, denying oneself at time of what was most essential.

The creation in our country of nuclear missiles and a new arm of the armed forces—the Strategic Missile Troops—meant the abolition of the U.S. atomic monopoly and the elimination of the inaccessibility of its territory.

The subsequent foreign policy efforts by our state in the sphere of nuclear armaments led first to the accords on their limitation and later to a real reduction. The treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles is a correct and politically justified step aimed at preserving peace. It is a real beginning to the application of the new political thinking in international disarmament cooperation.

At present negotiations are underway on a 50 percent reduction of nuclear offensive armaments, and talks are being conducted in Vienna on the reduction of conventional arms and troops in Europe. A realistic reduction of 500,000 troops of the Soviet Armed Forces is being unilaterally carried out. At the same time the reduction and elimination of nuclear armaments must be conducted on a reciprocal basis, with the preservation of strategic parity at each given stage in their reduction, and without detriment to the security of the sides. This is to say that the reduction of strategic armaments must be a two-sided effort.

It is unlikely that a unilateral reduction at this level would be justifiable, when the United States is persistently and consistently implementing its program of strategic weapons and is maintaining a fairly high level budget for these purposes.

So far there has been no changes in the U.S. military doctrines, which is aggressive in spirit. The attachment to the concept of a nuclear deterrent is maintained. As a result of the practical implementation of the principles of new political thinking, international tension has lessened somewhat. However, no guarantee of the irreversibility of what has begun and of the positive changes in the world has so far been accomplished. The military danger for our country has not yet been removed.

In these conditions, for four people, which endured the most difficult war against fascism, a reliable defense for the country was and remains a most important task. The large and responsible tasks of ensuring the security of our motherland and of the socialist community are laid on the Soviet Armed Forces, and they are carrying out these tasks with honor. The main result of military labor is 45 years of peace for the Soviet state. The historical truth is that one of the main indicators of our vitality was, and so far remains, the level of material, moral, and proper military preparedness to defend the motherland.

The people's well-being is not just the satisfaction of material needs; it is, first of all, peaceful living conditions. It is very well known what war is—not from books, not from stories, but from the bloody wounds in the earth, people's suffering, and the graves of fighting comrades. Nothing can compensate for the horrors of war, and I cannot agree with those who call for speedy disarmament, trusting that war no longer threatens anyone. I consider it immoral and irresponsible to speculate on reducing the social significance of military labor or on discrediting the honor and dignity of officers in military service against the background of concern for the destiny of the people which is doubtful in its sincerity, in order to please the mass-meeting authority at this time. We must not forget the lessons of the past, especially in questions of the country's security.

Guarding the peaceful toil of the Soviet people in the united ranks of Soviet servicemen, the missile and artillery personnel are vigilantly and steadfastly carrying out their duty.

The strategic designation missile troops constitute the main component of the country's strategic nuclear forces. They are equipped with the most modern military hardware and possess enormous capability. The missile troops are troops of constant combat readiness. During peacetime they fulfil a task of immense state importance. They carry out military duty unstintingly, ready to provide the guaranteed launching of missiles in response to aggression. The defensive nature of military doctrine, and one of its main principles—not to be the first to use nuclear weapons—puts combat readiness particularly high for the missile troops and demands that we train our troops for the most complex, retaliatory actions.

Having accepted this principle, we have, proceeding from common human interests, given ourselves the right to retaliate only in the event of an employment of nuclear weapons, which has not been done by any other

state. This means that we must have such a level of combat readiness and such a grouping of retaliatory troops which would be capable, in retaliatory actions, of causing damage to the aggressor and depriving him of hoping to achieve military-political advantages as a result of a nuclear attack.

The increased role and responsibility of the missile troops now consists of retaliatory action, of solving the tasks of averting war, and the expulsion of the pressure of power. But this must not be done through increasing the quantity of weapons, but primarily at the expense of qualitative parameters. In other words, at the expense of an increase in quality, reliability, and vitality of military equipment and arms, a growth in the professional skill of officers, the combat training of personnel, and an increase in moral and psychological preparedness in the defense of the motherland.

Today, perestroyka has imperiously entered into our army life and has become an inalienable part of it. It is developing under the leadership of the party toward a renewal of soviet society and is accompanied by a deepening of democratization, glasnost, and an increase in the political and service activity of all servicemen. The results of the current year show that the process of perestroyka is favorably affecting the results of military labor and the solution of tasks confronting the missile troops and artillery. The combat training of personnel has increased. All practice combat missile launches and artillery shoots have been successfully carried out.

Together with an improvement of individual military and professional skill by all servicemen, the level of preparation and coordination of calculations and duty shifts to the missile and artillery subunits and units. This year we have to deal with our task in an unusual situation—when the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles is being carried out.

At the present time, all shorter range missiles and 50 percent of medium-range missiles have been eliminated. This places yet more responsibility on the missile troops for carrying out combat duty and for maintaining combat readiness. in these conditions they must ensure the guaranteed fulfilment of the tasks placed upon them.

Proceeding from this, the demand on leading political command cadres is increased to achieve real results in improving cambat and political training. Attention to ensuring strict statutory order and consolidating military discipline in all units and subunits has been increased. Nevertheless, in assessing the results of combat training and discipline, we clearly see problems and issues which have not yet been solved and the necessity to improve the forms and methods of work for political command cadres. Greeting their holiday, the missile and artillery troops, like all Soviet warriors, are vigilantly guarding the great achievements of socialism, true to the heroic traditions of their grandfathers and fathers, and are fulfilling their military duty with regard to defending the motherland with honor.

Happy holiday, comrade warriors, missile, and artillery troops! I greet you, comrades, scientists, designers, technicians, and workers, by whose intelligence and toil modern weapons are created. Allow me to greet all of you, comrade television viewers on the splendid holiday of the Day of Missile Troops and Artillery, and to wish you health, happiness, prosperity, and success at work. I especially want to greet you, comrade veterans. May you this day recall the flights of youth and remember the most kind deeds and the combat comrades with whom you achieved tranquility for our country through difficult toil. Your sons, who according to law, to duty, and conscience are now doing service, will not let us down, and will not besmirch their solidarity honor. All the best to you, comrades!